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Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill

The Background of History

Memoirs of Court, Camp, and Society

Edited by

Cyril Hughes Hartmann

Memoirs of Captain Carleton.

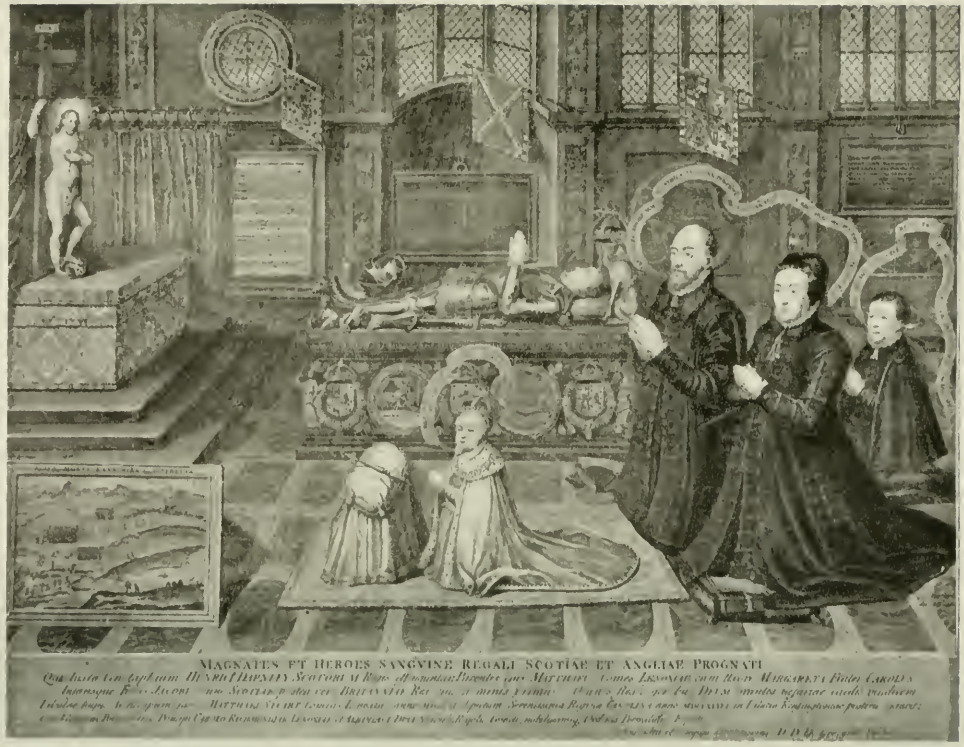
Memoirs of Leonora Christina, Countess Ulfeldt.

Secret History of Henrietta, Princess of England, *and* Memoirs of the Court of France for the Years 1688 and 1689. *Both* by Mme de la Fayette.

Memoirs of Sir James Melville, of Halhill.

In preparation

Memoirs of the Count de Gramont.



THE CENOTAPH OF LORD DARNLEY

Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill

1535 - 1617

Edited, with an Introduction, by

A. Francis Steuart

Advocate

Editor of "The Trial of Mary Queen of Scots," etc.

London

George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.

Broadway House, Carter Lane, E.C.

1929

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE EDINBURGH PRESS, EDINBURGH

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Introduction

Although most people have heard of Sir James Melville, envoy from Mary, Queen of Scots, to Queen Elizabeth, it is still a little necessary to introduce him formally to his readers. He was, as the title page says, Sir James Melville of Halhill, in Fife, and it is only necessary to warn the student of history that he was not the Scottish Reformer, Mr James Melville (a mistake still too commonly made), but the son of one of the oldest of Scots names.

He belonged to an ancient Scottish family settled for some centuries in what is (locally) known as "The Kingdom of Fife," and possessing some wealth among Lairds whose estates are generally said to have comprised:—

> A wee pickle land, a muckle pickle debt,
> A guid-ganging plea, and a doocat.

His father was Sir John Melville, fourth of Raith, in the parish of Abbotshall, a man of old lineage who had joined the Fife Reformers, and who (though his son, curiously enough, is silent on the point in his *Memoirs*) was executed in 1548 for being privy to the conspiracy which ended in the murder of Cardinal Beaton (Bethune). The Laird of Raith, by his second wife, Helen Napier of Merchiston, had ten children, many of whom were associated with the history of Mary, Queen of Scots. Of the daughters, one, Janet, wife of James Kirkcaldy of Grange, was the mother of Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, of whom much more later. Katherine became ultimately "Lady Fordell," while Joneta is the "Lady Elphinstone"

of the *Memoirs*, having married in 1564 James Johnstone of Elphinstone. The sons who must be named here were Sir Robert Melville of Murdochcairnie, who was in the Embassy with the Master of Gray to plead for the life of his Queen with Queen Elizabeth, and who for his zeal was threatened with imprisonment by the English Queen. He died Lord Melville, and was ancestor of the present Earl of Leven and Melville. The next son was the author of our book of *Memoirs*, Sir James Melville of Halhill (born about 1535, and died 13th November 1617). He married a wife (not mentioned in his *Memoirs*) Christian Boswell, and left children who were well placed in his native County. Another son, David Melville of Newmill, took the side of Queen Mary, and went with his nephew, Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange in 1570. Yet another son was Sir Andrew Melville of Garvock, whose history is inseparable from that of his Queen. He, too, joined the Laird of Grange in Edinburgh Castle, and was later appointed Master of the Household of the Queen of Scots, then a prisoner in England. In this capacity (though his brother says little about it, concentrating chiefly on the poor Queen) he attended his Queen to the scaffold. Summoned back to Scotland he was "Maister Household" to the Queen's son, and, as such, saved him from Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell. His first wife's sad death appears in the book, and he lived till 1617, survived by a family who continued to shine in the Royal Courts. The only other sons we need notice were the Abbot of Tongland, a linguist, and Walter Melville in the service of the Regent Moray, that slippery politician who always "looked through his fingers" when doubtful intrigues at Court were going on.

The Author of the *Memoirs* gives us very little information about his private life apart from his Court life. He wrote from memory, compiling his work in

late life from "sundry parcels." But he was a good enough historian for all that. He had the vivid eye and the lithographic hand which carried all his experiences to future centuries.

It is not the editor's intention to give the life of the writer, as that must be followed in the *Memoirs*, still it is perhaps as well to give a short exposition of what he tells us. He was sent to France to be educated as a Page, and, after a long period in France, in Germany, and, for a short time, in Italy, he had the satisfaction of being employed in his own country as an agent of Queen Marie of Lorraine-Guise, who was anxious about the doings of "The Commendator of St Andrews," and later to her daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots. His French education, sharpened by his experiences at the Court of the Elector Palatine, had shown him the variance between this Queen and her mother-in-law, Queen Catherine de Medici, and how the Queen of Scots was "so nettled" by it, that she was almost ready to throw herself into the arms of her rival, Queen Elizabeth of England. But there a diplomatic duel occurred, and he tells us of that with rare humour, which is given in his Scots phrase, in the Notes to this volume. It was he who suggested to Queen Elizabeth to visit his Queen in Scotland "by post," disguised as a Page. Agent for his Queen, Queen Elizabeth showed her peerless jealousy, and (a fine insult) offered her own minion, Lord Robert Dudley, as a suitable husband for the Queen of Scots. Having returned to Scotland, he gave the Queen good advice about her favourite Riccio, that "merry fellow," who was full of the intrigue promoting the Darnley marriage—and here it may be said, that this (in spite of her denials) may have been connived at by the English Queen, whose policy was so tortuous, in the hope of giving her a certain lineal heir. He was back at the Court of Queen Elizabeth to announce

the birth of James VI, and heard her cry that the Queen of Scots had a fair son while she was but a "barren stock," although she became "gossip" to her heir. He is our authority for "the affair of the tails," which, at the baptism of the Prince, gave so much offence to the English. When the spell of Bothwell followed, our author seems to have hated him heartily, but yet, in a semi-loyal manner, respected the Queen. He accuses Bothwell of the King's murder. After Darnley's death he follows the Queen's history into England, and the epochs of the Regents in Scotland. He is, perhaps, not impartial, but still is very fair for his Age, and we can see with precision the fall (and murder) of each Regent, the sad tutelage of the young King, his struggles to be recognised "second person" in England (never granted either to his Mother or himself), his Mother's judicial murder, his kidnapping, and, lastly, his romantic voyage to Norway to marry Anne of Denmark, shortly after which the *Memoirs* cease.

An educated man, Sir James Melville was yet superstitious; he believed to excess in witches, warlocks, spirits *et hoc genus omne*. Although a Reformer, or belonging to the party of Reform, he was not a Bigot, being (in later language) a Quietist, both in Religion and Politics. In Politics he seems to have been willing to do his best for his country during a changeable and very difficult time.

Two people stand out in his *Memoirs* as objects of his reverence. One is the Scottish Reformer, Mr Henry Balneaves (of whom he was the heir in the small estate of Halhill in the parish of Collessie). The other was his own nephew (although he does not so style him), Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange. The latter he regarded as "a verray perfit gentil knight," and no doubt he was, in later life, a sort of Don Quixote, with Mary, Queen of Scots, as his political Dulcinea. This

attitude, perhaps, made people overlook the fact that in his early youth his father had made him (with his three brothers) prepare the way for the murder of Cardinal Beaton (who was in the French interest, while they were in that of the English) by Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, which he did with perfect efficiency, thoroughness and, apparently, whole-heartedness. Yet Sir James writes of him as if he was a Paladin, and we who appreciate his writing cannot help catching a little of the glamour of his nature.

And this, of course, is what gives Sir James's *Memoirs* their chiefest interest—his association with the Rival Queens. The duel between Mary, Queen of Scots, and Queen Elizabeth of England is still vigorous and undying, and we read much of it in Sir James's story. His family certainly served Queen Mary during her life, and, though some of them were "in the English interest," never betrayed her as did Mr Archibald Douglas and other envoys. They were always in favour of the Union of Britain until Queen Elizabeth's death left the succession open, when her rival Queen Mary's son was

"Called to rich England by a ring."

Sir James's brother, as stated before, was at the Fotheringhay tragedy and guarded the poor Queen till death, was at her belated funeral at Peterborough, and then married her Chief Lady. It is a sad story that of the Queen, of whom Miss Marion Angus sings:—

She was skilled in music and the dance,
And the old arts of love—
At the Court of the poisoned rose
And the perfumed glove,
And gave her beautiful hand
To the pale Dauphin
A triple crown to win—

And she loved little dogs
And parrots
And red-legged partridges
And the golden fishes of the Duc de Guise,
And a pigeon with a blue ruff
She had from Monsieur d'Elbœuf. . . .

Consider the way she had to go,
Think of the hungry snare,
The net she herself had woven,
Aware or unaware,
Of the dancing feet grown still,
The blinded eyes—
Queens should be cold and wise,
And she loved little things,
Parrots,
And red-legged partridges
And the golden fishes of the Duc de Guise,
And the pigeon with the blue ruff
She had from Monsieur d'Elbœuf.

Nothing can detract from the interest of the life of the Queen of Scots. Her career touched the whole of Europe. She was the Queen of Scots born, and claimant of the throne of England, and Dowager of France. The Holy See, Spain, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway had a near connection with her life or alliances. She was beautiful, fascinating, dominating, and winning, and one cannot feel but that one can apply to her state the words of James Stephens about Deirdre:—

But there has never been a woman born
Who was so beautiful, not one so beautiful
Of all the women born. . . .

No man can bend before her; no man say—
What could one say to her? There are no words
That one could say to her!

Now she is but a story that is told
Beside the fire! No man can ever be
The friend of that poor Queen.

The history of these famous *Memoirs* is somewhat curious and complicated. In the "Epistle to the Reader" prefixed to the first edition of 1683, the Editor, George Scott of Pitlochie—a descendant of the writer—relates that the manuscript had lain unregarded in the Castle of Edinburgh until 1660, when it was rescued by Mr Robert Trail, Minister of the Greyfriars Church of Edinburgh. Mr Trail remitted it to the Author's grandson, another Sir James Melville of Halhill, "from whence," says George Scott, "it was derived to me."

Mr Scott did not think it fit to inform his readers that his book was a translation from the original Scots text—for the writer, Melville, was a Scot and wrote in his native tongue, now really difficult to read. The subsequent editions in the eighteenth century followed George Scott's version, more or less. It was not until 1827 that one of the copies of the original Scots version was printed from an old manuscript by the Bannatyne Club in the actual words of the writer, Sir James Melville.

The publishers of the edition printed at Edinburgh in 1735 by T. & W. Ruddiman say in their "Epistle to the Reader" that they "were prevailed upon . . . to undertake this new Edition. In doing whereof, great Care has been taken to rectify several mistakes and errors that had escaped in the former Edition, particularly, in the Names of Persons and Places, whether occasioned by the Faultiness of the Copy, or, which is more probable, by the ignorance of the Printer, who has therein also misled the French Translator of it in several Instances. We have moreover been at no small Pains to adjust the Pointing of the sentences, which has been so much neglected in the former Editions." The present text, which is that of the original English edition corrected and emended by the light of the Bannatyne Club volume, has also been subjected to

some scrutiny, and many of the inordinately lengthy paragraphs have been split up for the convenience of the present-day reader. The spelling of names of persons and places has, on the other hand, been left here as it was in the first edition, partly as it would be a pity to change the quaint old words such as "Dutchland" and "Almaign," which are scarcely capable of satisfactory modernisation, partly also as it is doubtful whether the modern forms of Scottish names, *e.g.*, "Moray," "Argyll," and "Lethington" are more correct and redolent of his time than the forms "Murray," "Argile," and "Lidington" used by Melville in his writings. The modern forms of the names will, however, be found in the Index.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

Note.—The Editor has especially to acknowledge the kind permission he has received from Messrs Macmillan to quote Mr James Stephens's poem, and that of Miss Marion Angus to cite one of hers. He also desires to thank his friend Mr Cyril Hughes Hartmann for his gentle care and kindly watchfulness over the work.

2 Lynedoch Place,
Edinburgh.

The Author to his Son

Dear Son,

Seeing thou hast shown thyself so willing to satisfy my expectations of the following and observing many of my former precepts during thy younger years, I grant now unto thy request the more gladly, to put in writing, for thy better memory, several passages which thou hast heard me rehearse concerning the life I did lead during my peregrination through the most part of Europe, from the age of fourteen years till this present hour, together with the prosperous success, and hard accidents happened to me; hoping that thou wilt be so wise as to help thyself in time by my faults, and not to wait upon the hurtful experience of the common sort, seeing no man can show the right way better than he who hath oft-times chanced upon by-roads; assuring thee, that, next unto the special favour of God, nothing stood me in so much stead as the early embracing of unbought experience, by observing the stumbling errors of others. Neither did I ever find anything more dangerous than the frequent slighting to notice any seen example, which was always accompanied with over-late repentance.

The most part of things which I purpose to set down presently, are certain old written memorials which were lying beside me in sundry parcels, treating of matters wherein I have been employed myself by sundry princes, or which I have seen or observed being in their countries (as the purposes of themselves will declare) to serve for an example of life, and better behaviour to thee and thy brother, concerning the service of princes, and meddling in their affairs;

which I could not eschew, for I sought them not, but they me.

I enforced myself to serve them more carefully, diligently and faithfully than any of my companions, whereby I won greatest favour with those who were wise, grave, aged and experimented; as with the Prince Elector Palatine, and the old Duke of Montmorancy Constable of France, who had the whole rule and government of the country under King Henry II, his master and mine; who were so constant, that their favour lasted so long as I remained in their service; not without extreme and dangerous envy of such of my companions as were naturally inclined to that vile vice, whom I took great pains by patience, presents and humility to gain; obliging them by that carriage to lay aside part of their malice.

But when it chanced me after to serve princes of younger years and of less experience, at the first by the like diligence, care and fidelity, I obtained their favour above the rest of their servants; yet at length they were carried away by the craft and envy of such as could subtly creep into their favour, by flattery, and by joining together in a deceitful bond of fellowship, every one of them setting out the other, as meetest and ablest for the service of their prince, to the wreck of him and his country; craving the prince to be secret, and not to communicate his secrets to any but their society. Thus the prince's good qualities being smothered with such a company, were commonly led after the passions and particularities of those, who shot only at their own marks: some of them continually possessing his ear, and debarring therefrom all honest, true and plain speakers. So that no more hope could be left of a gracious government, nor place for good men to help their prince and country, wherethrough fell out many foul, strange and sad accidents, as may be afterwards seen and read: princes misused and

abused, their country robbed, their best and truest servants wrecked, and the wicked instruments at last perished with all their high and fine pretences; others, ay, such-like, succeeding in their place, never one taking example to become more temperate and discreet, because of the destruction of those who went before them; but as highly and fiercely following their greedy, vain and ambitious pretences, obtaining the like tragical reward.

For my part, albeit I had seen, and oft-times read of the wreck and backward rewards of all such true, faithful servants and counsellors, as were most careful of the weal and safety of their prince, in resisting and gainstanding the devices of the wicked sort; and sometimes minding the prince not to suffer himself to be led by those who commit so many wrongs and errors at their appetite, yet I left not off from what I thought my duty, neither for fear nor danger, to oppose myself continually to the false fetches of such minions, until, I must confess, rather following the extremity than the right midst, I lost my credit with the prince, and tint my reward, reposing over-much trust upon their constancy and my good service, which hath been oft an hurtful opinion unto honest men.

With over-late repentance I was compelled to lament, as did Monsieur de Boussie when he was left and misliked by his master, crying out, "Alas! wherefore should men be earnest to surpass their neighbours in worthiness and fidelity; seeing that princes who get the fruit of our labours, like not to hear of plainness, but of pleasant speeches, and are easily altered without occasion upon the truest servants?" I perceive well that to continue in their favour, they should not be served with uprightness, but with wiliness; and instead of using free language for their honour and preservation, their servants should frame and accommodate themselves to their pleasure and will; which

may be easily done by the dullest sort of men: But my daft opinion was, that I might stand by honesty and virtue; which I find now to be but a vain imagination, and a scholastical discourse, unmeet to bring men to any profitable preferment. And yet my nature will not suffer me to proceed by any other means, I being of the same mind and nature, and, by a just call and command, first of the Queen his Majesty's mother, and afterward of himself, having more matter and greater warrant than many others, as well to admonish, advertise and reprove the prince to gainstand all evil instruments, took the more freedom, finding myself thereto in duty obliged, against the rule given by Seneca to Lucullus, saying, "If thou desirest to be agreeable to great princes, do them many services, and speak to them few words." Plato was of the same opinion, the favour of princes being obtained with great pain and travail, and retained with great difficulty; therefore should the wise courtier be careful of offending them, either by gesture, word or deed; for being once in disgrace with them, they may well forgive, but they shall never be so great with them again, do what they will.

Sometimes a man may discreetly put the prince in remembrance of his long and good service; but cast not up thy service, nor be importunate in demanding rewards. Therefore be not so audacious as to find fault with thy prince's proceedings, nor to give advice unrequired, or advertisements without good grounds of being credited; for princes notice not anything but what is told them by their favourites and minions, who commonly seem to allow and take pleasure of whatsomever recreation they find the prince inclined to; not as by way of flattery, but as by way of yielding, and leaving their own pleasure to take pains to please the prince; they never appear miscontent, although he do not reward them in due time; they

never challenge him of breach of promise, in case he break it.

In many of these rules I confess I have overshot myself, for too great servency towards the prince's service, having never minded my own particular advancement and profit; for otherwise I should have, at the earnest desire of the house of Guise, my old and great acquaintances while I was residing at the Court of France, tittled in the Queen's ear, that her rebellious subjects, who had at their own hands, without her authority, changed religion, should have been exemplarily punished as rebels and traitors. That if she condescended to acquiesce to the establishing the Reformed Religion, it would be constructed as meanness of spirit, and that she wanted authority to curb such a mutinous people: that it was below her, at the arrogant desire of her nobility, and to remove the idle jealousies of her other subjects, to lay aside Riccio, as being derogatory from her honour, that she could not have liberty to keep about her what servants she pleased: seeing hence there might be ground to allege there were other bad designs to follow, when in the first place they desired to separate from her such as they knew would be most trusty to her, and in whom she could most confide.

This kind of language would probably have most suited her Majesty's humour, and would have procured to myself great bribes from Riccio and his Popish friends for my reward. But I thought it was more the part of a true friend to her Majesty, to acquaint her, that seeing her subjects had now embraced the Protestant Religion, looking upon the Popish principles as damning, it was not her interest to do anything that could give them any jealousy that she intended to alter their religion; that as the entertaining of Riccio gave to all such some apparent ground of harbouring such apprehensions, he being a known enemy to their

religion; that having so much of her favour, he would undoubtedly use his endeavours to persuade her to re-establish that religion which she herself professed; so it gave just ground of discontent to the nobility, who would look upon any extraordinary honour conferred by her Majesty upon a stranger, as highly prejudicial to them, who were as willing and able to serve her as he could be; and reflecting upon their loyalty, as if she had more trust to place in a stranger than in her own native countrymen and born subjects.

Had I not more regarded my princess her interest than mine own, I should have accepted the large offers made me by the Earl of Bothwell, when he desired me to subscribe with the rest of his flatterers that paper wherein they declared it was her Majesty's interest to marry the said Earl; but I chose rather to lay myself open to his hatred and revenge, whereby I was afterward in peril of my life; and tell her Majesty, that those who had so advised her, were betrayers of her honour for their own selfish ends, seeing her marrying a man commonly judged her husband's murderer, would leave a tash upon her name, and give too much ground for jealousy, that she had consented to that foul deed.

I wanted not fair offers from Randolph and Killegrew, Residents here from the Court of England, if I would have in so far complied with their designs, as not to have divulged what I perceived to be their drifts, which I could not conceal, finding them so destructive to the kingdom. I had the fair occasion of making a large fortune to myself, if I would have gone along with the Earl of Arran, by counselling the King's Majesty to follow his violent advices; but finding them so far contrary to his interest, I did think myself engaged to warn his Majesty, that he was a dangerous man who gave him such advices; that if he followed the same, he would run himself upon inevitable

precipices; that his Majesty's hearkening to the Duke of Lenox and him, the one a papist, the other a wicked and ungodly man, would breed jealousies in his subjects' minds, which might produce dangerous effects.

This freedom, and many times the like, I took; which though his Majesty accepted in good part, yet I thereby contracted my store of enemies. But it was always my principle, rather to hazard myself by plain speech when it was necessary, than to expose my master to danger by silence or base flattery. And though the common practice, which I mentioned ere while, may seem to thrive in some courts for a time; yet under grave and wise princes, and at long-run, the honest maxims will prove most acceptable and safe. Therefore I willingly opened these things to thee, that thou mayst as well know what is usually done, as what ought to be.

There is a certain discretion to be used, that is free both from sauciness and assentation; and a man may many times, if he skill it aright, give his prince good counsel, contrary to his inclinations, yet without incurring his displeasure. This thou oughtest to study, if ever thou be called to public affairs; and though thou mayst bend with the necessity of some accidents, and yield to the times in some things, though not going just so as thou wouldst have matters to go; and humour the prince in an ordinary business, to gain opportunity of doing greater good to him and thy country at a more lucky season; yet be sure that thou never engage in any disloyalty, cruelty, or wickedness, nor suffer anything to pass that thou seest will tend to his ruin or grand prejudice, without noticing it to him in some humble manner. And though for that time it be disrelishing or slighted, yet when he sees the effects follow that thou admonishedst him of, he will love thee the better, and rather hearken to honest

advice for time future. And withal thou wilt obtain the favour and blessing of Almighty God, whom thou must at all times endeavour faithfully and uprightly to serve, if ever thou expectest bliss in this or the other world; to whose gracious Providence I commit thee, with the hearty well wishes and benison of

Thy dearly loving father,

James Melville.

The Memoirs of Sir James Melville

King Henry VIII of England being discontent with the Pope, for refusing to grant the divorce from his wife, Queen Katharine of Castile; for revenge he looked through his fingers at the preachers of the Reformed Religion, who had studied in Dutchland under Martin Luther, and were lately come to England. In process of time the hatred betwixt the King and the Pope came to so great a length, that he proclaimed himself "Head of the kirk of England," and discharged St Peter's pennies to be paid from that time forth; with a strict command to all his subjects no manner of way to acknowledge the Pope. He obtained the said divorce from his own clergy, marrying another; which occasioned to him the hatred of the Pope, the Emperor and King of Spain, and all their assistants. He again desiring to strengthen himself at home, conjecturing the probability of a combination against him, found it his interest to entertain a strict amity with James V of Scotland his nephew: for he was determined to unite this whole isle in one religion, and in one empire, failing of heirs male procreate of his own body; having then but one daughter called Mary with the divorced Queen, which daughter he declared to be a bastard. Upon which consideration Ambassadors are sent thither, inviting that King to a conference at York, whither Henry offered to come and meet him; alleging by such an interview, matters might be more effectually condescended upon conducing for the mutual interest of both kingdoms than

could be expected from the endeavours of ambassadors to be employed in that affair.

King James having seriously considered the overture, and advised thereabout with his council; upon their deliberation and advice, returns his resolution to attend his uncle, time and place appointed. With which answer the Ambassadors highly satisfied, return to their master, who rejoiced exceedingly at so happy a success of that matter. Whereupon great preparations are made at York, for the entertainment of his nephew with the greater solemnity.

The Clergy of Scotland, sworn clients to the Pope, having had several consultations hereanent, were alarmed with this proposal, and the account they had of the King's resolution to comply therewith; through an apprehension that the uncle's persuasion might oblige the nephew to trace his footsteps in overturning Popery in Scotland, as he had done in England. They therefore resolve to use the utmost of their endeavours for preventing the said intended interview. They addressed themselves to such as were minions for the time, who had most of his Majesty's ear. These they corrupted with large bribes, to dissuade the King therefrom. These having joined with such of the clergy who were most in favour with the King, used many persuasions, telling him how King James I was retained in England; of the old league with France; that upon this consideration it would be prejudicial to his interest to keep that meeting, seeing the French would not take it well, neither the Emperor, who was highly incensed against Henry. They told him of the Pope's interdicting him, and what a great heresy was lately risen up there, and had infected not only the greatest part of the kingdom, but the King himself. And also that many of the nobility and gentry of Scotland were likewise favourers of the said heresies; and that it was fit that timeously he should prevent the

spreading thereof, seeing the same would contribute much for his advantage, while he might enrich himself by their estates; the names of whom they gave up in a sheet of paper: which the King put in his pocket, thinking it a very profitable proposition, and therefore with all diligence to be executed.

The Laird of Grange had been lately made Treasurer, and was in great favour with the King. He had not yet discovered himself to be a favourer of the Evangel, but the King esteemed him true, and desirous to advance his profit, and very secret; therefore he thought fit to make him privy to this profitable overture. He showed unto him the written roll of the noblemen and barons names who were given up to be burnt for heresy, telling him what great advantage he would make thereby. Whereat the Laird of Grange began to smile, and the King to inquire whereat he did laugh.

The Treasurer desired liberty from his Majesty to tell him the truth. Whereat the King drew out his sword, saying merrily to him, " I shall slay thee if thou speak against my profit." Then he put up his sword, commanding him to show him what reasons he could allege against the prelates' proposition.

The Treasurer declared what troubles his Majesty had been tossed in during his minority, for the government, first between the Queen his mother and the Lords, then betwixt divers factions of the Lords: how that he had been couped from hand to hand, sometimes kept against his will as captive, sometimes besieged, sometimes brought to battle against his will by the Douglasses to fight against the Earl of Lennox and his best friends, who were slain coming to relieve him; the prelates being partners for their ambition, sometimes with one faction, sometimes with another: and how that they could never agree among themselves, nor let his Majesty take rest, until the Duke of Albany

was chosen Governor, and brought out of France; who had enough to do also: for he would have fain done pleasure to France, and raised a great many Scotsmen to enter England, who were making wars in France. But he got a rebuke when he was at the Border: for they would march no further, alleging, that the King was but young, and sister's son to King Henry: that they saw no reason to enter into war with England, to endanger their King and country to serve France, being the King his father had to no purpose lost his life in their quarrel, having entered into England with an army against his good-brother, whereby the whole country was endangered.

After that this Duke retired himself, your Majesty took the Government in your own hands at the age of thirteen years. Yet they clapped again about you, and kept you two years as captive. And now you are but lately come to your liberty; and your country is not yet so well settled as were needful, albeit your Majesty hath done very much in so short space as to settle the highland islands and the borders. It were a dangerous thing, if your nobility should get intelligence that some greedy fetches should be put in your head, under pretext of heresy, to spoil them of their lives, lands and goods. Wherein you may endanger your own estate at the instance of those whose estates are in peril, who would hazard you and yours, to save their own. The Prelates I mean, who fear that your Majesty, at the example of the King of England, of Denmark, and several princes of the empire, will make the like reformation among them. Therefore they have no will of your familiarity with the King of England, nor that your estate should be so settled that your Majesty might put order to the abuses of the kirk. Did not one of your predecessors, called St David, give the most part of the patrimony of the crown to the Kirk, erecting the same into bishoprics, and rich abbacies?

whereby your Majesty is presently so poor, and the prelates so rich, so prodigal, so proud, that they will suffer nothing to be done without them; and are also so sworn to the Pope of Rome, when they get their benefices confirmed, that they ought not to be credited in anything that toucheth the Pope's profit or preferment. The Venetians, the wisest people in Europe, will not suffer any Prelate, albeit he be a born man of the town, to abide or stand in their council-house, when they are at council, because they know them to be so strictly sworn to the Pope.

Then he declared the gross abuses of the Roman kirk, and the ungodly lives of the Scots Prelates, which the King and the whole country might see. Therefore, saith he, if your Majesty would be well and be rich, you may justly take home again to the profit of the crown all vacant benefices by little and little, as they may fall by decease of every prelate.

He told his Majesty, anent his promise to the Ambassador of England, there would come great trouble and wars if it were not kept. For King Henry VIII was a courageous prince, and high conceited; and appeared to have for the time an upright meaning, his occasions pressing him thereto; having so great turns in hand, and so many enemies, without succession saving the foresaid daughter; being corpulent and fat, there was small hopes of his having any heirs: that therefore it was his interest to be in a good understanding with him, being his eldest sister's son, nearest of blood, and ablest to maintain and unite the whole isle of Britain. As for the retaining King James I in England, that was a far different case: it was not the like time; he was not the King's sister's son, nor his apparent heir. And what hard success the King his father had, for making war against the King of England his good-brother, was too manifestly felt by the whole subjects. And little better to be looked for,

in case a new unnecessary war be made, for your Majesty staying away from the intended meeting at York.

The King took such delight in this language, that he determined to follow the advice given therein. And at his first meeting with the Prelates, who had then very great rule in the country, he could not contain himself any longer, when they came hoping to see their plots put in execution. After many sore reproofs, that they should have advised him to use such cruelty upon so many noblemen and barons, to the peril of his own estate: "Wherefore," said he, "gave my predecessors so many lands and rents to the kirk? Was it to maintain hawks, dogs and whores to a number of idle priests? The King of England burns, the King of Denmark beheads you; I shall stick you with this whingar." And therewith he drew out his dagger, and they fled from his presence in great fear. The King resolved fully to keep his promise with his uncle the King of England, thinking it both his honour and advancement so to do.

The Prelates of Scotland, thinking themselves far out-shot, and thereby in a dangerous condition, consulted together how to bring the King again to their opinion. They resolved in the first place to offer to pay to him yearly out of the rents of the kirk, 50,000 crowns to maintain hired soldiers, besides the ordinary subjects which obey the proclamation, in case the King of England should make wars against Scotland because of the King's not keeping the appointment at York. They thought this would be an allurement to the King, who liked well to be rich. Yet they concluded, that unless the matter were proponed and favourably interpreted to his Majesty by such as had his ear, that would not do the business. They destowed therefore largely of their gold to his familiar servants, and further promised unto Oliver Sinclair, that they should

cause him to be advanced to great honours, and to be made lieutenant of the whole army against England, in case that King Henry would intend wars against Scotland: which they affirmed he would not, nor durst not, having already so many irons in the fire.

This was communicated by the Prelates to the minions at Court, and cheerfully condescended to by them, who had by flattery gained greatest favour; and chiefly by drawing of fair maidens to the King, and striving to be the first advertisers whose daughter she was, and how she might be obtained; and likewise of men's wives. They waited a convenient time when the Treasurer should be absent, who was a stout bold man; therefore they durst not speak in his presence: for he always offered by single combat and at the point of the sword to maintain what he spoke. At this time he was absent from court; for the King had given the ward and marriage of Kelly in Angus to his second son, and he was gone there to take possession thereof.

In his absence then this was proponed to the King, and so backed by Oliver Sinclair, and such of the clergy as had been best acquainted with his Majesty, as he was induced to give ear thereto, they having added several other persuasions, at such times as they brought unto him fair maidens, and men's wives. Then they took occasion, in the next place, to show his Majesty that the Laird of Grange his Treasurer was also become a heretic, and that he had always a New Testament in English in his pouch; and likewise that he was become so proud and puffed up by his Majesty's favour, that no man might abide him; and that he was so extreme greedy, that he was unmeet to be Treasurer, and too bold to have procured for his second son the rich ward and marriage of Kelly, worth 20,000 pound.[1] The King answered, "That he esteemed him to be a plain frank gentleman; that he loved him so well he would give him again the said

[1] Helen Leslie of Pitcaple, Ward of the Crown.

ward and marriage for a word of his mouth." The Prior of Pittenweem replied and said, " Sir, the heir of Kelly is a lusty fair lass, and I dare pledge my life, that if your Majesty will send for her presently, that he shall refuse to send her to you."

The King affirming still the contrary, there was a missive written. And the prelates and their faction devised, that the said Prior of Pittenweem should carry the letter, and bring over the maiden-heir of Kelly to the King. But the Treasurer, who knew him to be his deadly enemy, refused to deliver her to him: alleging the said Prior to have been all his days a vile whoremaster, having deflowered divers maidens : therefore he thought him an unfit messenger.

Who was so glad as he, to return with this backward answer? He and his associates kindled up the King in so great choler against the Treasurer, handling the matter so finely and hotly, that they obtained a warrant to charge the Treasurer to ward within the castle of Edinburgh: which they forgot not to do, at his first coming to court. He again guessed that leesings would be made against him, therefore used great diligence to be with the King: and notwithstanding of their charge, passed pertly in to his Majesty, who was at his supper in Edinburgh. But the King looked down upon him, and would not speak to him, nor know him. He nevertheless steps forward, and said, " Sir, what offence have I done, who had so much of your favour when I parted from you with your permission ?" The King answered, " Why did you refuse to send me the maiden whom I wrote for, and gave despiteful language to him I sent for her?" " Sir," said he, " there is none about your Majesty dare avow any such thing in my face. As for the maiden. I said to the Prior of Pittenweem, that I was well enough to be the messenger myself to convey her to your Majesty; but thought him unmeet, whom

I knew to be a forcer of women, and the greatest deflowerer of wives and maidens in Scotland." The King said, "Hast thou then brought the gentlewoman with thee?" "Yes, Sir," said he. "Alas!" saith the King, "they have set out so many leesings against thee, that they have obtained of me a warrant to put thee in ward; but I shall mend it with a contrary command."

Then said the Treasurer lamentingly, "My life, Sir, or warding is a small matter; but it breaks my heart that the world should hear of your Majesty's facility." For he had heard, that in his absence they had caused the King to send to England, and give over the intended meeting at York. Whereat the King of England was so offended, in that he had been so publicly scorned and affronted, that he sent an army to Scotland to destroy it with fire and sword. Albeit the King liked nothing of this war, he was still kept in hope that it would tend to his great honour and advantage, and that England had so much to do as would busy them elsewhere; so that they would soon repent them, and be compelled to sue for peace ere it was long. In the meantime their gold was made ready, the more to encourage the King, and large promises of much more, in case the war continued.

The King was engaged to raise an army to defend his country and subjects, who went to that war to show their obedience, much against their hearts. But when they perceived Oliver Sinclair raised up upon men's shoulders, and proclaimed lieutenant over the whole army at Solway Sands; the lords, in despite that the Court and country should be governed by such mean men as were pensioners to the Prelates, refused to fight under such a lieutenant, but suffered themselves all to be taken prisoners. So the whole army being overthrown, the King took thereat great displeasure. There was great murmurings in the country, that for

pleasuring the Prelates the kingdom should be thus endangered. The report whereof, and the justness of the complaint, made the King burst out with some language against them who had given him so bad advice. Which was carried over soon to their ears: and they fearing the effects of his displeasure, caused him to be poisoned, having learned that art in Italy, called an Italian Posset. The Cardinal David Beaton[1] was with his Majesty in the time of his death, and caused to be written the form of a testament at his own pleasure, being dictated by himself; which upon that reason was afterward annulled.

The King of England could not forget this injury and displeasure done him of the King's breaking of his promise. He was much troubled at his death. His wars were rather to have moved the estates of Scotland to know that his favour and friendship had been better for them than his feud. He was still in hope to have gained him with consent and advice of the best of his subjects to have joined in a bond offensive and defensive. For he had received information of the King's worthy qualities and rare natural endowments, and entertained a marvellous great love and liking of him; thinking he could not have left the kingdom in a better hand, than to his own sister's son, nearest in blood unto him, and meetest of any to build up a fair monarchy, to be first begun (in a manner) in his own person; in respect that for his time, which he looked would be but short, his nephew would have been but his Coadjutor and Lieutenant under him; and after him possess the whole under one religion, one law, and one head; and thought that thereby France should never afterward have the occasion of stirring up the one country against the other; and that the Pope should be secluded from gathering up such sums of silver from his subjects, for confirmation

[1] Bethune.

of benefices, or for bulls, or dispensations: for his wrath and vengeance against the Pope was exceeding great, who had made him many promises, and had broken them all; fearing, as said is, to offend the Emperor, who was so great and mighty a Prince.

Therefore the King of England, seeing he had now altogether lost the hopes of the Scots alliance and concurrence, he compelled the gentlemen of England to exchange their lands, with the lands of abbeys, cloisters, and other temple lands, giving them more than their own; that so the said lands should never return to the kirk, without a manifest rebellion, or a dangerous subversion of the whole state of the kingdom. And to be revenged upon the said Cardinal David Beaton, who he thought had disappointed him of all the hope he had of Scotland, he dealt with Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Angus, who were but lately returned out of England, where they had resided during the time of their banishment, till the death of King James V.

These two brothers appearing to be of the Reformed Religion, persuaded Norman Lesly Master of Rothes, the young Laird of Grange, and John Lesly of Parkhill, who had been persecuted by the said Cardinal for religion, after he had taken their preacher Mr George Wishart, and burnt him at St Andrew's: these, I say, were easily stirred up to slay him, whom they were persuaded to be an enemy to the true religion, to the welfare of the country, and to themselves in particular.

This proud Cardinal was slain then in his Castle at St Andrews; and so ended all his practices, having obtained nothing but vain travail for his pretences, and sudden death: having been the occasion of the death of a worthy King, who was inclined to justice, and gave no credit to his officers in their two special points, to reward and punish. For whoever did him good

service, he would see them rewarded, yea albeit they chanced to be absent. And as to punishing of evil-doers, so soon as he had heard the complaint, he leaped upon his horse, and did ride to the parties himself, with a few company, ere they could be aware of him; and he would see sharp execution. So that he was deservedly both loved and feared. He was very courageous, well favoured and shapen, of a middle stature, very able of body. But evil company fell about him entering out of childhood into furious youth, enticing him to harlotry, striving who should spy out for him the fairest maidens, and likewise at length men's wives. With them he abused his body, to the offence of God and divers good subjects. For which he was not left unpunished: for he had but two young sons, and they died both within eleven hours; so that at his decease he had but one daughter, called Mary, born when he was upon his death-bed.

King Henry VIII of England having only one son, called Edward, he and the estates of both countries desiring still this whole isle of Britain to be united in one monarchy, made a contract of marriage between the said two; which was afterward broken upon our part, her Majesty being transported into France by the west seas. Whereupon ensued great war between the two kingdoms; which was afterwards agreed upon this condition, that Edward should marry Elizabeth eldest daughter to Henry II of France, and Francis his son should marry our Queen. My Lord Hamilton was advanced to the government of the country by the Laird of Grange Treasurer, Mr Henry Balnaves, and others that were of the Reformed Religion, when as he appeared to be a true gospeller. But he had been afterward soon altered by the Abbot of Paisley his bastard-brother, and became a great persecutor of God's word, and had been by the persuasions of the said Abbot and Cardinal easily drawn to break the said

CARDINAL DAVID BETHUNE

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contract of marriage made between King Edward and our Queen.

After that the young Queen came to France, there was great disputing whether the marriage with the Dauphin should take effect or not. For at that time there were two factions in the French Court: first, the brethren to the house of Guise, as the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain, brothers to our Queen-dowager, and uncles to our young Queen Mary, pressed earnestly to set forward the said marriage with France: the old Constable Duke of Montmorancy was of opinion, that it was meetest to give her in marriage to some Duke or Prince in France, and to send them both home to Scotland to keep that country in good obedience; because when princes are absent, and far from their own, ruling their countries by lieutenants, most commonly the subjects of such countries use to rebel: which if Scotland should do, it would be hard and costly to get them reduced; and thereby, instead of making France the better of the marriage with the Dauphin, it might make it to be in a far worse case. The house of Guise again desiring to have their sister's daughter Queen of France, to augment their reputation and credit, alleged it would be both honourable and profitable to the crown of France to have this addition; and that there were revenues in abundance to maintain garrisons within the kingdom, to hold the subjects under obedience, building citadels, and having the whole strength in their hands. Herein they prevailed, she being married unto the Dauphin.

John de Monluck[1] Bishop of Valence was sent Ambassador from France to the Governor and Queen-mother, sister to the Duke of Guise. And when the said Ambassador was to return to France, it pleased the Queen-mother to send me with him, to be placed

[1] Monluc.

page of honour to the Queen her daughter, I being then fourteen years of age. But the said Bishop went first to Ireland commanded thereto by the King his master's letter, to know more particularly the motions and likelihood of the offers made by Oneel,[1] Odonell, Odocart and Callock, willing to shake off the yoke of England, and become subject to the King of France, providing that he would procure the Pope's gift of Ireland, and then send to their help 2000 Hacbutiers, 200 light horsemen, and four cannon.

We shipped for Ireland in the month of January, and were stormsted by the way in a little isle called Sandisle, before Kintire, where we were compelled to tarry seventeen days by reason of the storm. Thence we hoised sail towards Ireland; but the storm was yet so extremely violent, that with great danger of the ship and our lives we entered in at the mouth of Loch-feul[2] in Ireland upon Shrove-Tuesday, in the year 1549: for the skipper and mariners had lost all hopes of safety, having left their anchors behind them the night before. Ere we landed, we sent one George Paris, who had been sent to Scotland by the great Oneel and his associates; who landed at the house of a gentleman who had married Odocart's daughter, dwelling at the side of a lake; who came to our ship, and welcomed us, and convoyed us to his house, where we rested that night.

The next morning Odocart came there, and convoyed us to his house, which was a great dark tower, where we had cold cheer, as herring and biscuit; for it was Lent. There finding two English gray friars who had fled out of England (for King Edward VI was yet alive) the said friars perceiving the Bishop to look very kindly to Odocart's daughter, who fled from him continually; they brought to him a woman who spoke English, to lie with him. Which harlot, being kept quietly in his chamber, found a little glass within

[1] O'Neil. [2] Lough Foyle.

a case standing in a window; for the coffers were all wet with the sea-waves that fell into the ship during the storm. She believing it had been ordained to be eaten, because it had an odoriferous smell, therefore she licked it clean out; which put the Bishop into such a rage, that he cried out for impatience, discovering his harlotry and his choler in such sort as the friars fled, and the woman followed. But the Irishmen and his own servants did laugh at the matter; for it was a vial of the most precious balm that grew in Egypt which Solyman the Great Turk had given in a present to the said Bishop, after he had been two years ambassador for the King of France in Turky, and was esteemed worth 2000 crowns.

In the time that we remained at Odocart's house, his young daughter, who fled from the Bishop, came and sought me wherever I was, and brought a priest with her who could speak English, and offered, if I would marry her, to go with me wherever I pleased. I gave her thanks; but told her that I was but young, and had no estate, and was bound for France.

Now the Ambassador met in a secret part with Oneel and his associates, and heard their offers and overtures. And the patriarch of Ireland did meet him there, who was a Scotsman born, called Wauchop, and was blind of both his eyes, and yet had been divers times at Rome by post. He did great honour to the Ambassador, and convoyed him to see St Patrick's Purgatory, which is like an old coal-pit which had taken fire, by reason of the smoke that came out of the hole.

From Odocart's house we went to a dwelling-place of the Bishop of Roy,[1] not far from the narrow frith that runs through Lochfeul to the sea. The said Irish Bishop had been also at Rome. And there we rested other three weeks, waiting for a highland bark which James Machonel[2] should have sent from Kintire with

[1] Ross. [2] Macdonald.

his brother Angus, to carry us back to Dumbarton. Which being come for us, we parted to a castle which the said Machonel had in Ireland; and from that we embarked and rested a night in the isle of Jura, and the next night in the isle of Bute. But by the way we lost our rudder, and were in great danger when we came to Kintire. James Machonel did treat us honourably, and told the Bishop that he was the welcomer for my sake, because he had been kindly used by my father when he was warded in the castle of Dunbar, during the time that my father was captain thereof; of whom we had made an honourable report to the Bishop: which occasioned him the more kindly to notice me.

After he had caused us to be landed at Dumbarton, we went straight to Stirling; where, after eight days, the ambassador took leave of the Queen, and went again to Dumbarton, where there were two French ships, that had brought silver to Scotland to pay the French soldiers in service, there ready to receive us. So sailing by the Isle of Man along the south coast of Ireland, we landed at Conquet in Britany eight days after our embarking, not without some danger by the way, both from English ships, and a great storm; so that once at midnight the mariners cried that we were all lost.

At Brest in Britany the Bishop took post toward the Court of France, which was in Paris for the time: and because I was young, and he supposed I was not able to endure the toil of riding post, he directed two Scottish gentlemen, whose fathers he had been acquainted with in Scotland to be careful of me by the way. And we bought three little nags to ride to Paris. He desired the two brothers to let me want for nothing by the way; which he would recompense at the next meeting. He left with me as much money as would buy a horse, and bear my expense upon the road to Paris.

Now we three inquired after other company, and found other three young men, the one a Frenchman, the other a Britone, and the third a Spaniard, who were to ride the same way. We were all six lodged in one chamber at the first inn we did quarter at, in which were three beds; the two Frenchmen had one bed, the two Scots another, the Spaniard and myself the third. I overheard the two Scotsmen discoursing together, that they were directed by the Bishop to let me want for nothing; therefore, says the one to the other, we we will pay for his ordinary all the way, and shall account twice as much to his master as we disburse, when we come to Paris, and so shall gain our own expense. The two Frenchmen, not thinking that any of us understood that language, were saying to themselves, these strangers are all young and know not the fashion of the hostelries; therefore we shall reckon with the host at every repose, and shall cause the strangers to pay more than the custom is, and that way shall save our own charges: and accordingly the next day they went to put it in execution. But I could not forbear laughing in my mind, having understood so much French as to know what they were aiming at; wherewith I acquainted the young Spaniard, and so we were upon our guard: yet the two Scotsmen would not consent that I should pay for myself, hoping that way to beguile the Bishop; but the Spaniard and I wrote up every day's accompt.

By the way riding through a wood, the two Frenchmen lighted off their horses, and drew out their swords, having appointed other two to meet them. But beholding our countenance, and seeing that we were making for our defence, they made a sport of it, alleging that they had done it to try if we would be afraid, in case we should be assaulted by the way. But these two rogues that met us, left us at the next lodging. And when we came to Paris, the two Scotsmen never

obtained payment of the Bishop for that they had disbursed, because of their intended fraud. We were thirteen days in riding betwixt Brest and Paris, where we arrived in the month of April.

Within a month after our arrival at Paris, the Bishop of Valence was sent to Rome: and because he took post, he left me behind him, having tabled me in a very good ordinary, and agreed with masters to teach me the French tongue, and to dance, fence, and play upon the lute. I know not why he did not present me to the Queen, as he had engaged: albeit afterward he said that he was minded to make me his heir.

The cause why he was at this time sent to Rome was this: Pope Paul III had exchanged some lands belonging to the Church, for Parma and Placentia, two towns appertaining formerly to the duchy of Milan, and gave them to his son Pierre Louis Farnese; who married his eldest son Octavio to the bastard daughter of the Emperor Charles V. The said Pierre Louis being murdered for his detestable vices, the next Pope, Julius, pretended to bring again the said two towns to the church, instead of the church-lands that had been exchanged for them; compelling the Duke Octavio (finding himself unable to withstand the Pope's forces) to put the said towns into the King of France's custody; for he was in as great fear of the Emperor his father-in-law, who had gotten possession of the dukedom of Milan: and for that effect he sent his brother the Duke of Casters[1] to France; to whom King Henry of France gave his bastard daughter in marriage; the King of France being as earnest to have an estate in Italy, as the Emperor was to hinder him from it, by reason of Milan and Naples, to which the King claimed a right, though the Emperor had them in possession. Therefore, so soon as he did see the French garrison within the town of Parma, he took part with the Pope.

[1] Duca di Castro.

Which made the King of France endeavour to make a peace with King Edward VI of England, by the means of the Duke of Northumberland, who had a strict friendship with France, having a hidden mark of his own that he shot at, as his proceedings afterwards declared.

The peace with England being concluded, that King Edward should marry Elizabeth eldest daughter to Henry II of France; and that he should give his consent that the Queen of Scotland, who was betrothed to him, should be married with Francis Dauphin of France, in which peace Scotland was also comprehended; the Bishop of Valence was sent to Rome to endeavour to oblige the Pope to desert the Emperor. But he returned without obtaining success in his expedition: which was the cause that the dealing betwixt the King of France and Oneel in Ireland ceased. And in the meantime the King of France emits a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to send to Rome for any bulls, or confirmation of benefices: which, together with the agreement with England, put the Pope in great fear that France would become Protestants in despite, as Henry VIII had lately done before. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, because an army was shortly after made ready to pass into Germany, to the aid of the Protestant princes, where King Henry himself did in person lead 50 thousand men. For then many of the Germans were become Protestants, occasioned at first by the insolent avarice of the Pope, and the shameless proceedings of his selling of pardons; and by the zeal and boldness of Martin Luther, who being persecuted, was maintained and assisted by the good Duke Frederick the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other princes of the empire. Whereupon the Emperor Charles V took occasion, under pretext of maintaining the Catholic Roman Religion, to pretend to bring the

Empire and all the Dominions thereof as patrimony to him and his posterity: and therefore abandoned his son-in-law the Duke Octavio to the Pope's discretion, for to obtain the greater assistance from him against the Germans. Which design the Emperor had once brought near to pass: for after he had vanquished the Protestants in battle, and taken prisoner Duke John Frederick, he passed through the most part of the provinces and free towns of Dutchland, and took from them their liberties, placing officers at his pleasure, and receiving from them of gifts and ransoms 160,000 crowns and 500 piece of artillery. Yet he doubted the Landgrave who was a valiant prince, and chanced to be absent from the said battle; therefore he dealt with Duke Maurice, godson to the said Landgrave, to persuade his god-father to come in, under assurance and promise: which the Emperor broke, retaining the said Landgrave captive upon the subtlety of a syllable.

This Duke Maurice was cousin to the captive Duke of Saxony, and had obtained the Electorate of Saxony, which the Emperor took from his cousin, and gave to him. Whereupon he, as a fine courtier, assisted the Emperor, helping him greatly in his victories against his country and friends, for his own promotion. But when the Landgrave called him shelm, poltroon, traitor, and deceiver of him whose daughter he had married, he made earnest suit to the Emperor for the liberty of his godfather; though in vain, the Emperor alleging no promise to have been broken to the said Landgrave, causing the letter of promise and pacification to be read in his presence in the Dutch tongue, wherein was a written word which admitted of two diverse interpretations; to wit, this word Enig was interpreted by the Emperor perpetual, and by the Landgrave and Duke Maurice it was taken for null or none. But they could not help themselves; for

the Landgrave was two years so straitly kept by the Spaniards, that oft in the night they held a lighted candle to his face, to be assured that he was sleeping, and vexed him so that through despite he would spit in their faces, crying out continually against Maurice: who was not sleeping, but had sent secretly to the King of France, declaring how not only his godfather and he were so abused and deceived by the Emperor; but that he had begun already to rob the empire of its liberties, to change the state thereof to a monarchy, against the oath and promise made at the election and his coronation; and that under pretext to suppress heresy, he was so assisted by the Pope, that he was like to prevail; entreating the King not to suffer them who were his friends to be so oppressed, seeing it was no ways his interest that his competitor should grow so great, seeing thereby he should be the more in a capacity to annoy him at his pleasure. Whereupon the said King took occasion to levy an army, and to convey the same into Almaign; and appearing to seek their liberty, he possessed himself in his way of Metz, Toul and Verdun, three great imperial towns and bishoprics.

In the meantime Duke Maurice lay at the siege of Magdeburg, lieutenant for the Emperor, giving not the least ground of suspecting him discontent for the Landgrave's retention, but rather endeavouring to make appear how far he was obliged to the Emperor, who had so highly advanced him; like a fine courtier, evidencing publicly his resolutions of setting forward his master's interest, and executing all his commands, whether they should be right or wrong.

Yet the Duke of Alva alleged in secret council with the Emperor, that Maurice lingered too long at the siege of the said town: and that it was to be suspected, that he was offended at the usage his godfather did meet with. But Granvil[1] Bishop of Arras, on the

[1] Granvelle.

contrary, said, that such drunken Dutch heads needed not be suspected, especially seeing two of the said Duke's counsellors were pensioners to his sacred Majesty, and advertised him continually of all the Duke's most secret deliberations. Yet they thought expedient to send for the Duke, to see if he would presently obey, or pretend some excuse.

But Duke Maurice had as much subtlety as any Spaniard of the Emperor's council, having had intelligence that the Emperor had bribed two of his secretaries; yet he gave not the least ground to conjecture that he knew anything thereof, appearing to do nothing without them, deliberating all his enterprises in their presence; whereby the Emperor was deluded, so as to expect no harm from him. And when the Duke was sent for, he took post immediately for the Court, taking in his company one of the secretaries whom he knew to be the Emperor's pensioner, whom he sent before to show the Emperor that he was following at leisure, by reason of a pain he had taken in his side, occasioned with riding post.

But the Duke had secretly commanded his lieutenant to bring up the whole army with all diligence, and to march night and day. So that he surprised the Emperor ere he had received the least notice thereof: for he was compelled to rise from supper, and fly forth of Inspruck with torch-light; and so clearly out of Dutchland, that he never set foot within it again.

This done, he sent to the King of France, who was with his army beside Strasburgh, giving him great thanks for his pains, advertising him of the Emperor's flight, entreating him to return home with his army; for Maurice was dissatisfied that he had taken three of the imperial towns: and in the meantime he hasted through the whole country, restoring the free towns to their former liberty and privileges.

The Emperor again fearing to be compelled, set at liberty the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. Finding himself frustrate of his expectation, and understanding that Duke Maurice had a great grudge against the King for taking fraudulently the three aforesaid towns from the empire, he dealt with Maurice secretly, allowing all that he had done: and so both being reconciled, they together laid siege to the town of Metz, though in vain. Whereby may be observed how dangerous it is in civil dissensions, to bring in great companies of strangers to support any of the parties. It may appear impertinent for me to write thus much of the affairs of Dutchland, being myself but young for the time, and not present in the French army. But afterward, when I was in Germany, I had this account from the good Elector Palatine; so that none could attain to more certain information thereof.

The Bishop of Valence was at this time at Paris. He was desirous to have some knowledge in the mathematics; and for that effect he found out a great scholar in divers high sciences, called Cavatius. This Cavatius took occasion frequently in conference to tell him of two familiar spirits that were in Paris waiting upon an old shepherd, who in his youth had served a priest, and who at his death left them to him. The Bishop, upon the King's return from Germany, introduced the said Cavatius to the King; who, to verify what he had said, offered to lose his head in case he should not show the two spirits to his Majesty, or to any he should send, in the form of men, dogs, or cats. But the King would not see them, and caused the shepherd to be burnt, and imprisoned the said Cavatius.

The Bishop had another learned man to his master, called Taggot, who had been curious in sundry sciences, and knew by the art of palmistry, as he said to me

himself, that he should die before he attained to the age of twenty-eight years. Therefore, said he, I know the true religion to be exercised at Geneva; there will I go, and end my life in God's service. Whither accordingly he went, and died there, as I was afterwards informed.

At this time the Bishop of Valence being at Court in St German's he was resolved to have presented me to the Queen. But in the interim, Captain Ninian Cockburn, then one of the Scots guard, had obtained liberty to visit his friends in Scotland, and was lately returned. This man was a busy meddler, and had been sometimes entertained about my father's house. He finding that I could speak French, told me that he had a matter of consequence to impart to the Constable[1]; and entreated that I would go along with him to be his interpreter, because he had not the French tongue. But he would not acquaint me with the matter till he was in the Constable's presence.

We attended till one day after dinner, when he was to give audience to divers Ambassadors. He commanded us to wait at his chamber door till two after noon; which hour he failed not to keep, after he had heard the Ambassadors, and made report to the King of their demands, and advised him what to answer. We two were brought into his cabinet, where he was alone with a secretary. Then the captain began to declare, how that in his late being in Scotland, Bishop John Hamilton, whole guider of the Governor his brother, had been dangerously sick, so that his speech was lost without all hope of recovery; that the Queen Dowager of Scotland had taken occasion hereof, to prevail with the Governor so effectually, that he had resigned the government to her, she being made Queen-regent: and willing me to show the same to the Constable.

[1] Anne de Montmorency.

But I required to know what further he had to say; then he proceeded to show, that when the Bishop of St Andrew's had recovered his speech and health by the help of Cardanus, an Italian magician, he cursed and cried out, that the Governor was a very beast for quitting the government to her, seeing there was but a skittering lass between him and the crown. But I blushed when the captain pulled upon me to tell these very words to the Constable. He perceived how loath I was to rehearse it; at last he pressed me. I told him I did not think it worthy to be communicated to his Lordship. He asked my name, and caused his Secretary to write it up, and inquire if I was of kin to the captain: who said in bad French, that I was his sister's son. The Constable inquired of me, if that was truth. I told him I had no relation to him at all. Then he desired to know with whom I was in that country. I answered his Lordship, that the Bishop of Valence had commission from the Queen-regent of Scotland, to place me her daughter's page. He desired to know if I would remain with him, in case he procured the Bishop's consent. I answered, that I should think myself much honoured, by being in the company of a person so famous in Europe as he was; but that I believed he durst not dispose of me, in respect of the promise he had given to the Queen-regent. He answered, that he could present me when he pleased to the Queen; but if I would be satisfied to stay with him, he would not fail to advance me. I expressed myself much obliged to his Lordship, that he had so far taken notice of me, and willing, if he procured the Bishop's consent.

The Constable failed not, at his first rencounter with the Bishop, to inquire concerning me, and expressed his desire to have me in his service. To which the Bishop acquiesced, and acquainted me therewith that same night, that the Constable was the best master

in France, and would not fail to promote me. Whereupon I entered into his service in the year 1553.

I grant these trifles are not worthy to be here inserted, were it not to testify God's gracious goodness to the posterity of the faithful. As David observes in his Psalms, " I have been young, and now am old, yet I never see the just abandoned." For it was God that moved the Queen-regent's heart to take two of my brothers into her service, and to send me into France to be placed with her daughter our Queen; who also moved the Bishop to be so kind to me, that if I had been his own son, he could not have had more affection for me; and the same God moved the Constable's heart to desire me.

In the year 1553, in the month of May, the Constable of France raised a great army; and being the King's lieutenant, led them first to Ameins in Picardy. For when the King of France was in Dutchland with his army, as he gave out, to help the Princes of the Empire; Mary Queen of Hungary, then a widow, sister to the Emperor, and Regent of Flanders, entered with an army into Picardy, and burnt the King's palace of Foulanbrey, with divers other little towns and villages; thinking thereby to divert the King, that he should have come back to defend his own bounds. Thus they entered into hot wars; and the King in his return besieged several towns, and took them.

Therefore the Emperor, in the spring-time of that same year, entered in person with a great army into Picardy, and won Tirruan and Hedin, and burnt divers burghs and villages; which caused the Constable to go with his army to resist him. The two armies being encamped seven leagues asunder, the Constable was advertised by a spy, that all the Emperor's horsemen were to come in the night to assault the French camp. Therefore he, to shun that surprise, marched all night forward toward the enemy

with all his forces horse and foot; whereby he surprised those who thought to have found him in bed, and gave them the overthrow. Many were killed, and some taken; among the rest the Duke of Arescot, leader of those designed for that enterprise, was taken prisoner.

After this victory, King Henry II came to the camp himself. The Emperor retiring toward the town of Valencien, the King's camp following always upon his wing, making divers days journeys before he came to the said Valencien; where the Emperor had set down his camp without the town upon an hill, making trenches round about the same. Where the King presented him battle, waiting in vain a whole day, to see if he might be provoked to come forth: and for that effect sent a number of Enfans perdus to his trenches, to bring on the skirmish; where the Emperor sent out some companies of horsemen, who were soon beat back within their foot. In the meantime the Emperor caused his whole artillery to fire at our camp, though not much to our prejudice. We were advertised that the Emperor was determined not to hazard battle; for he began to believe that fortune favoured no more his old age. Therefore, when night drew near, the King retreated to St Quintine; where the Constable fell deadly sick, being then in his great climacteric. Then both the armies were sent to their winter garrisons; the Emperor went to Bruxels, and the King to Paris, and the Constable to his palace at Chantilly, to recover his health.

During this winter there was a great convention between Calais and Ardres, where Cardinal Pool[1] was appointed mediator by the Pope, to agree the two great princes, but without any effect. Therefore the next spring the King went first into the field with his army, in the year 1554, as the Emperor had done the

[1] Pole.

year before: at which time I was made his pensioner, by the Constable's means. His Majesty besieged and took first Marienburgh, a gallant town and of great strength. He took also Bouvines, and at length Dinan. But the castle of Dinan, situated upon a high rock, was stoutly defended by a Spanish captain; who at length coming forth to speak with the Constable about composition, was retained; and the men of war came forth with their bag and baggage.

Few or none of the soldiers who came forth of Dinan, but were hurt either with skelves of stanes by the force of our battery, or were burnt with the fire-brands that they did roll down the steep hill whereupon the wall was built. And thrice they repulsed our French footmen: eleven banner-bearers whereof went up to the breach, to wit, first, one with the ensign in his hand, not followed with his company; who was killed, and fell tumbling down the hill. Then another soldier, to win the office, took up the ensign, and went up likewise to the head of the wall; who was also killed. Then the third, and all the eleven one after another, lost their lives, not at all assisted by their companies; notwithstanding that the Constable my master stood by, crying and threatening in vain: for which he degraded their captains, and brake their companies. There was a Scotsman, brother to Barnbougle, called Archibald Moubray, who with his drawn sword ran up to the head of the wall, and returned safe: but he got no reward, though I used all my endeavours for him. Thus many are readier to punish faults, than to reward good deeds.

After this the King entered far into the Low Countries, burning and carrying away great booties. But so soon as the Emperor could convene any forces together, our army began to retire homeward. Then the Emperor sent 5000 horsemen, to see if they might perceive any occasion of advantage; which they

frequently essayed, assailing our rear-guard at the passing over a little water. At which time the Constable stayed behind himself; and turning his face toward them, he withstood their charge stoutly with the French footmen and some light horsemen, until the whole army had passed over the said water, not far from Cambray. So the Emperor's horsemen followed no further at that time, believing that the King was resolved to return to France, and dismiss his army for that year.

But the King drew along the frontier toward a place of great strength called Renty, where he planted his camp, and besieged the said place; which I heard the Constable promise to deliver to the King in eight days. Which promise was not performed, for the Emperor came in person with his army for the relief thereof. Which army the Constable rode out to meet with the whole French horsemen, leaving the foot at the siege: for he had great intelligence, and had heard where the Emperor was resolved to encamp, marching along a great height, which had a steep towards the part where our camp lay; but it was easy to ride up and down at the side thereof: where our horsemen did ride, and the Emperor sent down some on horseback to skirmish. At which time Norman Lesly, Master of Rothes, won great reputation: for with thirty Scotsmen he rode up to the hill upon a fair grey gelding. He had above his coat of black velvet his coat of armour, with two broad white crosses, the one before, the other behind, with sleeves of mail, and a red bonnet upon his head, whereby he was known and seen afar off by the Constable, the Duke of Anguien,[1] and the Prince of Condé: where, with his thirty, he charged upon sixty of their horsemen with culverines, followed but with seven of his number. He, in our sight, struck five of them from their horses with his spear before it

[1] Enghien.

brake: then he drew his sword, and ran in among them, not valuing their continual shooting, to the admiration of the beholders. He slew divers of them, and at length, when he saw a company of spearmen coming down against him, he gave his horse the spurs, who carried him to the Constable, and there fell down dead; for he had many shots: and worthy Norman was also shot in divers parts, whereof he died fifteen days after. He was first carried to the King's own tent, where the Duke of Anguien and Prince of Condé told his Majesty that Hector of Troy was not more valiant than the said Norman: whom the said King would see dressed by his own chirurgeons, and made great moan for him. So did the Constable, and all the rest of the princes: but no man made more lamentation than the Laird of Grange, who came to the camp the next day after, from a quiet road whither he had been commanded.

Now the Emperor sat down his camp two miles from Renty, and in an instant entrenched the whole camp round about, save only the face of the steep hill that looked towards our camp.

All that night there were many upon the watches of both armies, for every man looked for a battle the next day following, and therefore the Emperor, like an old experienced captain, seized upon a wood in the night-time, that lay upon a hillside between the two camps; which was not only a great advantage to him, but compelled the most part of our army to stand in arms all night; whereby they were rendered the more unable against the next day, wanting refreshment of rest; and then the place of battle was a plain valley that lay under the said wood.

The next morning early, after every man had said their prayers, and taken a little refreshment, we placed our army in good order of battle under the said hill and wood. The King himself that day commanded

the battle; but he desired the Constable to abide with him, to give counsel as occasion would fall out. The Duke of Guise led the vanguard, and the Marshal of St André the rear-guard. First, so many of our French foot as are called Enfans perdus were led along the hill and wood, beginning to skirmish with the Spaniards who were within the wood; who had so great advantage, covered with bushes and trees, that they compelled our foot to retire fearfully. Which well-favoured beginning the Emperor might well perceive from the hill whereupon he was encamped; therefore, like a skilful captain, he took the occasion to hazard a good part of the vanguard with seven field-pieces, who by his direction came forward; the Spaniards with their fire-arms through the wood; 1000 lance-knights with bright corslets along the hill-side, with long pikes; the Count of Swaertsenburg with all his reiters at the hill-foot, and the whole light horsemen of the Emperor's army upon his right hand. At which time our foot, who were appointed to skirmish with the Spaniards, retired more and more; as also our light horsemen in the valley drew aside, and gave too great place to the Emperor's vanguard: which when it came where Monsieur de Tavanes and Monsieur de Lorge stood with their companies, seeing them make for defence, they marched more coldly.

The Duke of Guise in the meantime said, that he would ride back to the battle, and obtain the King's command before he would charge upon the enemy. But Monsieur de Lorge, who was an old captain, alleged that there was no time to take counsel; for the enemy, said he, will be as soon at the King as you: therefore it was resolved to charge courageously upon the enemy. Which being done, and a little rencounter made, the reiters shot off all their pistols; and finding themselves not backed, nor followed with the rest of the Emperor's army, as they alleged was promised

unto them, they gave back and fled, being pursued by our horse, who slew several of the Dutch foot, and some of the Spaniards; for the wood was their relief; but the horse all escaped within the ramparts of the Emperor's camp. Their field-pieces were taken, and many Spaniards made prisoners. Therefore we called it a won battle, and marched forward, possessing the ground where the fight was, and set down our camp the same night hard beside the Emperor's: who seemed not that he had lost anything, but remained stedfastly within his trenches.

All that night the army for the most part was upon the watch, and the next day the armies looked peaceably one upon another: for we would not hazard to charge them within their fort; and they stayed for twelve thousand fresh men that were coming to their aid. But in the evening they discharged all their cannon, which overthrew part of our tents; and we again discharged all our cannon at them, and did laugh to see the bullets light and rebound among them. Yet, the same night, without trumpet or beating of drum we raised our whole army, and retired home to our own town of Montreal, and left Renty unwon, alleging that we had won a battle, which was better, and that we wanted horse-meat in the beginning of winter. But the Emperor suffered us patiently to pass away, not appearing to understand that he knew anything of our retreat, being content that he had preserved Renty from being taken.

After this, the Emperor being aged, and finding himself vexed with the gout and gravel, he thought fit to leave the world and retire himself to a monastery of monks in Spain. But first he made means with the Princes of the Empire, to elect his son Philip to be Emperor; which they altogether refused, thinking him too mighty, and the more in a capacity to subdue their liberties, as his father had attempted to do before;

but they were content to choose his brother Ferdinand, who was King of Bohemia and Archduke of Austria: which dominions lay nearest the Turks. The said Ferdinand having also some lands in Hungary, would be compelled to defend his own lands, and that way would be content with less contribution from the estates of the empire.

He gave over to his son Philip his other kingdoms and dominions that he had in Spain, Italy and the Low Countries. And for the establishing his said son's estate, he drew on a treaty of truce for the space of five years with France: which was agreed upon, and sworn between the parties. But the said truce was soon broken at the persuasion of Pope Paul IV who, intending to bring back again to the Church some church-lands that his predecessors had disposed to their friends, as the common custom of Popes is: the one Pope dispones to his bastards or nephews; the next Pope revokes the lands, pretending the same to be for the good of the church, and gives them again to his kindred and friends. But those who had the lands that Pope Paul IV claimed were a great clan in Italy, called Colonois,[1] who were dependers upon the King of Spain and were under his protection; and would not grant to give over any of their possessions unto the Pope, neither for his cursing, threatening or bragging, but stood in their own defence. Whereof the Pope impatient, put on by two of his nephews, sent the one of them to France, called the Cardinal Caraff.

The said legate had borne before him a hat upon the point of a sword, both hat and sword to be presented to the King of France; the sword as an assured token of victory, and the hat as a token of triumph: requiring the King as eldest son of the Catholic Church at Rome, to send an army to Italy, to help the Pope's

[1] Colonna.

holiness to recover again to the kirk such lands as were wrongfully with-holden from the same, by the said race of the Colonois; and to take away all scrupulosity from the King's conscience, by reason of his oath and sacrament at the closing up of the truce with the King of Spain, he the said Cardinal, as legate from God's vicar, having power, would give him full absolution, he having power to bind and loose: alleging moreover, that in doing so dutiful an office for the kirk, the king would reap a great advantage to himself, seeing he might thereby be put in possession of the kingdom of Naples by the forces of the Pope; who should join with the King's army, after he had helped the kirk to recover her lands from them, who were maintained in the possession thereof by his competitor the King of Spain.

The Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorrain his brother, embraced this proposition very earnestly: for the Duke expected to be made Viceroy of Naples, whereby he might the more easily sometime make his brother Pope. But the old Constable my master was utterly against the breaking of the peace. Yet the two ambitious brothers prevailed, persuading the King, that as the Constable's age required rest, so the King, being in the flower of his years, ought not to let slip so fair an occasion to recover again the kingdom of Naples to the crown of France.

Thus a great army was prepared, and sent into Italy under the conduct of the Duke of Guise; and likewise the King's lieutenant in Picardy entered in upon the King of Spain's dominions with fire and sword, so unexpected by those of the Low Countries, that some of the French light horsemen entered upon horseback within one of their kirks upon a Sunday, and snatched the chalice out of the priest's hands when he was mumbling his mass.

The King of Spain took this breach of the peace

heavily to heart, and both assisted the Colonois against the Pope's forces more earnestly than he would have done, and also prepared a great army against the next spring to invade the frontiers of Picardy in France.

In the meantime that the Duke of Guise with his French army was in Italy, the Pope took occasion hastily to compound with the Colonois; who finding themselves like to be straitened before the King of Spain's forces could be ready to support them, gave the Pope part of his desire, he securing to them the rest.

But the Duke of Guise judged himself greatly disgraced by the Pope's guile, and disappointed as to the expectations he had of the preferment to the kingdom of Naples, when he understood that the Pope was agreed without him, and that instead of concurring and helping him to conquer the kingdom of Naples, according to his engagement, he plainly refused; pretending that the winter was near at hand, and that it was by far more fitting, that all Christian princes were agreed among themselves to make war against the Great Turk. So that all the favour the Duke of Guise had, by undertaking this journey into Italy, was to get a kiss of the Pope's foot; which occasioned great anger in the King of France, both at the one and the other. Then, for the space of two months, every man at the Court of France had liberty to speak ill of the Pope; who at that instant agreed with the King of Spain by the mediation of that same Cardinal Caraff, who had carried the sword and hat a little before to the King of France. Which Cardinal was afterwards strangled by the next Pope, Pius IV, for practising to bring the great Turk into Italy against the Christians; which he at his death confessed he had, for his own greatness. This I understood afterward, being at Rome.

Now return to the Duke of Guise's army abandoned

by the Pope: he returned to France with the loss of the most part, dead for hunger, and weakened by sickness, and slain by the Spaniards, who waited at their heels all the way. Before the Duke of Guise's coming home to France, the King of Spain was entered upon the frontiers of France with a great army of [some] thousand men: whom to resist, the Constable my master was sent with sixteen thousand. The day before he took leave of the King at Rheims in Champaigne, riding to the hunting, there came a man in grave apparel following him on foot, crying for audience for God's sake. Whereupon the Constable stayed, willing him to speak. Who said, "The Lord says, Seeing that thou wilt not know Me, I shall likewise not know thee: thy glory shall be laid in the dust." This strange language put the Constable in such a rage, that he struck the poor man in the face with the horse-rod which was in his hand, and threatened to cause him to be hanged. The man answered, "That he was willing to suffer what punishment he pleased, seeing he had performed his commission." The Duke of Nevers perceiving the Constable troubled, drew near, desiring to know the cause. The Constable told him that such a knave had been preaching to him of God. Then the Duke did also threaten the poor man. But as they did ride forward after the King, I stayed behind, and asked the man what had moved him to use such strange language towards the Constable; he answered, "that the spirit of God gave him no rest till he had discharged his mind of that commission given him by God."

Now the Spanish army above mentioned was led by Emmanuel Duke of Savoy along the frontiers of France, who at last planted his camp about the town of St Quintin. Whither the Constable sent the Admiral of Chastillon his sister's son, to defend the same, and lodged his camp at La Fer, five leagues

from the town of St Quintin, which was not sufficiently furnished with men and munition: wherefore he essayed the next day, in vain, to put in it more companies, under the conduct of Monsieur d'Andelot brother to the said Admiral. After the preparation of two days, he marched forward with his whole army toward St Quintin, carrying with him eighteen cannons, with some boats that are commonly in camps, to pass the army over rivers and waters. For there was a little loch upon the south-west side of the town, in the which the said boats were set. And Monsieur d'Andelot first with 300 entered the town that way; but so soon as it was perceived, the enemy stopped the rest from entering.

But so soon as the Duke of Savoy was coming with his whole army towards us, the Constable alleging that he had furnished St Quintin sufficiently, drew homewards towards La Fer in good order, intending to eschew battle if he could, the other being more powerful than he. His intention was to pass and besiege Calais; but the whole horsemen of the enemy were hard at us, against the time we had travelled four miles; where the Constable stopped a little time. At length he said that these horsemen came to stay us till the foot were advanced. Therefore he thought best to pass forward to a narrow post betwixt a wood and a village, there to give them battle if he could not escape them.

In the meantime Marshal St André, a great man for that time, gave unhappy advice that all the French servants who were on horseback should retire from among the men-at-arms, lest they should be an impediment to them who were to fight, there being as many servants as were masters. They were glad to get them out of the press, spurring their horse with speed homewards, intending to stay upon some hill to behold the combat.

The enemy perceiving so great a number of horsemen as they thought flying, in the very instant took occasion to charge upon our light-horsemen. Whereupon the Constable, being in a valley between two hills, marching toward the strait part, where he intended to stay, spurred forward up the little hill that he might see how to resist, and put order to the battle; which gave an hard apprehension to others that he was flying. But when he turned on the top of the hill to behold the onset, no man would tarry with him for any command. Though he always cried, " Return, Return," their heads were homewards, and their hearts also, as appeared. Then his master of the horse bringing him a Turkey speedy horse to run away with the rest, he answered in anger, " that it was against his profession and occupation to fly "; addressing himself fearlessly against the greatest troop of enemies, saying, " Let all true servants to the King follow me ": though only threescore gentlemen accompanied him, who were all overthrown in an instant. The Constable desired to be killed; but the master of the horse cried continually, " It is the Constable, kill him not." But before he was known he was shot through the thigh, and then was taken prisoner.

I being hurt by a stroke upon the head, was again mounted by my servant upon a Scots gelding, which carried me through the enemies, who were all betwixt me and home. Two of them struck at my head with swords, because my headpiece was strucken off in the first rencounter. These two were standing betwixt us and home, to catch prisoners in a narrow strait. But my horse ran through them against my will, and through the village, for the field between it and the wood was full of smoke of the culverins. There most of our foot were slain. The leaping over a dike separated me from the two, and so being past the said village there was room enough to escape. So I came

safe to La Fer, where I did meet with Mr Henry Killegrew an English gentleman, my old friend, who held my horse till I sat down in a barber's booth to be dressed of the hurt in my head. In the meantime a proclamation was made that no man should remain within the town, but the ordinary garrison, because the governor thereof looked for a siege.

By the loss of this battle, the town of St Quintin, and several other towns were lost: whereby the King of France found himself reduced to so great straits, that he was compelled to accept of a very hurtful peace at Cambray; where I was for the time with my master the Constable, yet a captive.

With the said Constable was adjoined in commission, the Cardinals of Lorrain and Chastillon, the Marshal of St André, the Bishop of Orleans, and the Secretary l'Aubespine. For the King of Spain were, the Duke of Alva, Prince of Orange, and Cardinal Granvel. For Queen Mary of England were commissioners, William Bishop of Ely, and Doctor Wotton. The commissioners made peace betwixt France, Spain, England and Scotland. The Constable was much for the peace: the Cardinal of Lorrain desired the continuance of the wars. For by the peace, the Constable would get leave to come home, to guide the King and Court again, as he had formerly done. By the continuance of the wars, he would remain still prisoner, leaving the government of the King and Court of France to the Cardinal and the Duke of Guise his brother. Spain, that was victorious, took advantage of their strife and emulation. France and England lost by the said peace. The King inclined most to the Constable's counsel. England appeared desirous that Calais should be restored, believing that the King of Spain would not agree till they had satisfaction of their demands. Yet they were frustrate of expectations. At length perceiving the two great

Kings careless of their satisfaction, they appeared content with a scornful mean (albeit it was not) cast in by the Cardinal of Lorrain, to wit, that Calais should be restored to them at the end of eight years, or else 500,000 crowns. And for payment of the said sum, in case the said town was not rendered unto them at the end of the time specified, that in the meantime they should have three great men of France, to be kept as pledges for the restitution of the said town. Now the English commissioners knew that nothing of this would be kept, nevertheless they appeared content finding themselves abandoned by Spain. So the peace being concluded, Spain obtained all their desires; the Constable obtained liberty; the Cardinal of Lorrain could not mend himself, no more than the English commissioners.

However the said Cardinal took this advantage of the said peace, that the first article of the peace obliged all of them to leave their partialities, and join together to suppress the great number of heretics, who were so increased through all their dominions, that it was thought hard enough to the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and France, together with the Queen of Scotland, to reduce them again to the Catholic faith. The said Cardinal proposed to himself another advantage, wherewith to recompense his losses: for he thought at the end of eight years, when England would look either to get Calais restored again to them, or else the sum above specified, he would cause his sister's daughter the Queen of Scotland, to be proclaimed righteous Queen of England, and allege that Queen Elizabeth was but a bastard. And that way he thought not only Calais but all England should appertain to the Queen of Scotland. As for the pledges, he resolved such men should be chosen that France would make little account of.

After the concluding of this peace, ambassadors

were sent to Flanders and England. The Cardinal of Lorrain out of France, to take the King of Spain's oath, and to swear for the King of France his observation thereof. The Secretary Dardois also was sent out of France, to do the like in the name of the Dauphin of France, and the Queen of Scotland his spouse, giving them this new style, "In the name of Francis and Mary King and Queen of Scotland, England and Ireland, Dauphin and Dauphiness of Viennois." Whereat the Duke d'Alva and Cardinal Granvel smiled, saying, "This will breed some business ere it be long."

The Cardinal of Lorrain shortly after caused to be renewed all the Queen of Scotland's silver vessels, and engraved thereon the arms of England. The Marshal Montmorancy,[1] my master's eldest son, was sent to England to swear the peace, and to take the Queen of England's oath. So soon as Sir Nicholas Throgmorton understood of this new style and arms, usurped by the Queen of Scotland, to which he said she had no right, he being ambassador from the Queen of England to France, complained thereof to the King and council of France, though he got but Dutch excuses; alleging that in Dutchland all the princes brothers, cousins, or children, are styled princes or dukes of that same house.

The Constable advised the King to commission me to swear the peace in Scotland. But the Cardinal of Lorrain alleged Monsieur Bettancourt master of the household to the Queen Regent was meeter; because the instructions tended to declare unto the Queen Regent, how the first and principal article of the peace, was that the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and France, should join together to reduce again the most part of Europe to the Roman Catholic Religion, and to pursue and punish with fire and sword all

[1] François de Montmorency.

heretics who would not condescend to the same; desiring the Queen Regent to do the same in Scotland; and to begin in time, before the heresy should spread any further; which was already too far spread by her gentle forbearance, as had been reported to the King of France; praying her diligently to take course therein without fear, or respect of persons, seeing that no country of itself was able to withstand the whole forces of so many confederate Catholic great princes.

It is above declared, that all those prelates who had great rule and authority for the time, had assisted the Queen Regent in breaking the contract of marriage with England, and transporting the young Queen to France. But the Archbishop of St Andrew's began to think, that in case the young Queen died without succession to her body, the Earl of Arran his nephew might the easilier be crowned, the Governor his father being already in possession, was against the transporting the crown-matrimonial to France. And he having for the time the guiding both of the Governor his brother, and of the country, drew easily the most part of the clergy upon his side. Whereupon the Queen Dowager was compelled to address herself to a contrary faction to be the more in a capacity of compassing her design; to wit, to the nobility and barons, who were become professors of the reformed religion, conniving at their secret preaching, for further ingratiating herself with them : whereby the Protestants so increased, that the most part of the country became professors of the Reformed Religion. And such as had upon that account been formerly banished, as upon account of the slaughter of the Cardinal, were called home to fortify the faction that most furthered her designs. In the meantime the Bishop of St Andrew's fell sick, so that he lost his speech and was given over for dead. The Queen Dowager looks upon this as a fit opportunity of wresting

the government out of the Lord Hamilton's hands, having the concurrence of the lords that were Protestants, and their dependents, who were not a little incensed at the said Governor, because he had been so influenced by his brother, as by his counsel to endeavour the ruin of their religion. And the ways they took became effectual, he having been at last induced to resign the government into the Queen's hands, who thereupon was declared Regent.

The Protestants were thus at this time her best friends, and by the diligent preaching of the preachers, they were increased to so great a number, that she judged it would prove a dangerous and difficult matter to compel them to desert their principles. But the instructions which Bettancourt brought to her, and to Monsieur d'Osel lieutenant in Scotland for the King of France, and to all others who had greatest credit about her Majesty, were so strict, and mixed with some threatenings, that she determined to follow them. She therefore issued out a proclamation a little before Easter, commanding every man great and small to observe the Roman Catholic Religion, to resort daily to the mass, that all should make confession in the ear of a priest, and receive the sacrament. By word of mouth she acquainted several of the Protestant Lords, that they behoved to desert their principles; she showed to them the commission that was sent her out of France, and the danger that would follow thereupon if not obeyed.

When the nobility and states of the country perceiving her to be in earnest, finding themselves also threatened by Monsieur d'Osel, they left the Court: and consulting together what was meetest for them to do, they sent unto her Majesty the Earl of Argile, and Lord James Prior of St Andrew's, to show her Majesty in name and behalf of the rest, how that they had been permitted by her Majesty to keep their own

Ministers of a long time, sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly. That by her tolerance, their Religion had taken such root, and the number of the Protestants so increased, that it was a vain hope to believe they could be put from their Religion, seeing they were resolved as soon to part with their lives as to recant.

The Queen Regent did as much disrelish this kind of language as they had done her proclamation, so that she began to persecute and they to stand to their own defence, binding themselves together under the name of the congregation. Therefore they brake down images, kirks and cloisters.

The Queen Regent sent to France, advertising her daughter and her husband of these disorders, requiring help and forces to suppress this in time, or else all would be lost: declaring that she had ground of fear, that my Lord James, Prior of St Andrew's, natural son to James V would under pretext of this new Religion usurp the Crown of Scotland, and pluck it clean away from the Queen her daughter, unless sudden remedy were applied thereto. Upon this advertisement, some of the Council of France advised presently to raise a great army for reducing of Scotland; but the Constable counselled the King, whose pensioner I was for the time, to send me into Scotland. The King first gave me his commission by word of mouth; and then the Constable his chief counsellor, directed me at length in his Majesty's presence, as followeth :

" Your native Queen (saith he) is married here in France unto the Dauphin, and the King is informed by the Cardinal of Lorrain, that a bastard son to James V called Prior de St André, pretends, under colour of Religion, to usurp the kingdom unto himself. His Majesty knows that I was ever against the said marriage, fearing thereby to make our old friends our new enemies, as is like to come to pass this day: but

I gave too great place to the house of Guise to deal in the affairs of Scotland, because the Queen Regent is their sister. But now seeing their violent proceedings are like to occasion the loss of the kingdom of Scotland, I must needs meddle and put to my helping hand, as having better experience of the nature of that nation than apparently they have. I assure you that the King is resolved to hazard his Crown and all that he hath, rather than that your Queen be robbed of her right, seeing she is now married unto his son. And he resolves to send an army to Scotland for that effect, though he would gladly shun the trouble thereof, if it were possible. For now after his Majesty hath had wars long enough with his old enemies, and hath agreed with them upon very rational considerations, he is loath to enter again into a new unnecessary war with his old friends; seeing there is probable ground of conjecture, that it is not their default, but that the same is occasioned by the harsh usage they meet with. I hear that Monsieur d'Osel is choleric, hasty, and too passionate. Such are not qualified to rule over remote and foreign countries. I have also intelligence, that the Queen Regent hath not kept all things promised unto them. The King my master is not so rash, as readily to believe that Scotland, who had kept so long friendship with France, would now so slightly break their old band, and abandon their duty to their lawful prince. The King is well acquainted with the inconveniences which may arise upon so distant and beyond-sea wars. He knows what charge it is to furnish our ships, which perchance may be thrice victualled ere they make sail, by reason of contrary winds, and that your seas are very dangerous. The Marquis d'Elbeuf was driven upon the coast of Norway, when he thought to have landed in Scotland; so that his voyage did no good, though his preparations for the same were very expensive. Though our army were well landed in

Scotland, how oft might they stand in need of supply, when we, by reason of these and several the like difficulties, will not be able to help them, whereof we have too good experience when Monsieur de Lorge was there.

" I have brought you up from a child; I understand that you are come of an honourable family; I have assured the King that I have had proof of your honesty, so that his Majesty is well minded toward you, at whose hand I hope you shall deserve a good reward: this is a commission of a far greater importance than that which Bettancourt carried: for the King will stay or send his army according to your report. Give it out that you are only come home to visit your friends. Let neither the Queen Regent nor d'Osel know of your commission wherein you are employed by the King, who is now your best master.

" First, try diligently and perfectly well, whether the said Prior pretends to usurp the crown of Scotland to himself, or if he be moved to take arms only for conscience' sake, in defence of his religion, himself, his dependents and associates. Next, try what promises are broken to him and them; by whom, and at whose instance. Thirdly, if they desire another lieutenant in place of d'Osel.

" If it be only Religion that moves them, we must commit Scotsmen's souls unto God; for we have difficulty enough to rule the consciences of Frenchmen. It is the obedience due unto their lawful Queen with the body that the King desires. If any promise be made to them, and not kept, the King nor I are not to be blamed. If they desire any other lieutenant in place of d'Osel, the King will send one, who I hope shall please them."

After that the Constable had ended his instructions, the King laid his hand upon my shoulder, and said,

Do as my cousin hath directed you, and I shall reward you. So I kissed his Majesty's hand; and taking my leave, I went through England, and found the Queen Regent within the old tower of Faulkland; because that same day her army under Duke Hamilton and Monsieur d'Osel was ranged in battle upon Cowper Muir, against the Lords of the Congregation: at what time her Majesty made a hard complaint unto me of her disobedient subjects. And even as I was speaking with her, the Duke and Monsieur d'Osel returned from the said Muir without battle. Whereat the Queen was much offended, thinking they had lost a very fair occasion.

I laid myself wholly out to be informed, if my Lord James intended, as was reported of him, to make himself King. Mr Henry Balnaves was then in great credit with him, and loved me as I had been his own son, by reason of some acquaintance I had with him in France, and small services I had done him there, during his banishment. He first acquainted me fully, so far as he knew, of my Lord James's intention, and encouraged me to be plain with the said Lord James, assuring me of secrecy and honest and plain dealing. He was a godly, learned, wise and long experimented counsellor. He went with me to the said Lord Prior, having shown him my commission, which was very acceptable to him: he delayed not to advise with any other of his Counsel, what answer he should give me; but instantly and plainly told me his mind, in presence of the said Mr Henry.

First, he declared what acceptable service he and his associates had done to the Queen Regent, chiefly of late, when the Bishop of St Andrew's had drawn the most part of the clergy against the transporting the crown-matrimonial to France; albeit he had been mainly instrumental of sending the Queen thither, and in persuading the Governor his brother to break the

contract of marriage with Edward of England. He told what liberty of conscience her Majesty had granted unto them, until the time that the master of her household Monsieur Bettancourt returned from France with the news of the peace; and that, though since that time she had changed her behaviour and countenance toward him and those who had done her best service, he knew well enough that it proceeded not from her own nature, but was occasioned by the persuasions and threatenings of her brother and friends in France. And further he rehearsed unto me all her and their former proceedings, whereof mention is made already, affirming still his goodwill to her Majesty's service. And he further declared, that the more effectually to remove all suspicions from his sovereign and her husband of his designed usurpation, he was content to banish himself perpetually out of Scotland, if it would please the Queen and the King of France to grant him and his associates such liberty as the Queen Regent had permitted them till the home-coming of Bettancourt; providing that his rents might come to him to France, or any other country where he should reside: and for security hereof, he offered that sufficient pledges of the noblemen's sons in Scotland should be sent to France; so that no King nor Queen of Scotland did ever receive more cheerful obedience than her Majesty should do, notwithstanding of her absence.

With this answer I took my journey through England to France; and at Newcastle fell in company with an Englishman, who was one of the gentlemen of the Queen's Chamber; a man well skilled in the mathematics, necromancy, astrology, and was also a good geographer; who had been sent by the council of England to the Borders, to draw a map of such lands as lay between England and Scotland; which part was alleged to be a fruitful soil, though at that

time it served for no other purpose but to be a retreat to thieves. For Queen Elizabeth of England was lately come to the Crown, and had been advised by her Council to this course, as tending not only to the enlarging of her bounds, but rendering these parts civil. I know not the reason why they followed it not, though I conjecture that the variance which fell out between the two kingdoms hindered it.

The Englishman and I by the way entered into great familiarity, so that he showed me sundry secrets of the country, and of the court. Among other things, he told me, that King Henry VIII had in his life-time been so curious, as to inquire at men called diviners, or necromancers, what should become of his son King Edward VI and of his two daughters Mary and Elizabeth: that answer was made unto him again, that Edward should die, having few days, and no succession; and that his two daughters should the one succeed the other: that Mary, his eldest daughter, should marry a Spaniard, and that way bring in many strangers to England; which would occasion great strife and altercation: that Elizabeth should reign after her, who should marry either a Scottishman or a Frenchman. Whereupon the King caused to give poison to both his daughters: but because this had not the effect he desired (for they finding themselves altered by vehement vomitings and purgings, having suspected poison, had taken remedies) he caused to proclaim them both bastards. But the women that attended about Queen Mary alleged that her matrix was consumed: for she was several times supposed to be with child to King Philip of Spain, yet brought forth nothing but dead lumps of flesh. Therefore, to be revenged upon her father, the Englishman told me, that she had caused secretly in the night to take up her father's bones, and burn them. This the honest gentleman affirmed to be truth, though not known to

many. He was a man of great gravity, about fifty years of age. When he came to London, he showed me great kindness, and made me a present of some books.

Upon my return to France, I found a great change. King Henry II being hurt in the head with a shiver of a spear by the Count of Montgomery, at the triumphal joustings of his daughter's marriage with the King of Spain, died eight days after at Paris. And the Constable my master was commanded to retire him from Court to his house, by the new King, Francis II husband to our sovereign; who was wholly guided by the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, competitors to the said Constable in court-emulation. Which occasioned that my voyage, and the answer I had got, was all in vain: for the house of Guise were the chief instruments of all the troubles in Scotland.

When I did show the Constable at his house the answer of my commission, which was according to his heart's desire, the tears came over his cheeks, crying, "Alack for the loss of the King my good master, that he should not have seen before his death Scotland recovered again, which he esteemed lost: seeing you are thereby also frustrate of a good reward, which this your service merited. Now I have not such interest as I formerly had to advance you; but if you will take such part as I have, you shall be very welcome." I answered, that as I had been with him in his prosperity, I would not desert him in his adversity.

Now there was no more appearance of concord betwixt the Queen Regent and the Congregation in Scotland. For the King of France was raising men to send thither. The Congregation again sought help from England; which they obtained the rather, because the English Ambassador resident in France had advertised his mistress, how that the Queen of Scotland and her husband had taken the style of

THE CONNÉTABLE ANNE DE MONTMORENCY

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England and Ireland, and also had engraven the arms thereof upon their silver plate.

The Queen Regent and Monsieur d'Osel with his Frenchmen enclose themselves within Leith; which they did fortify to receive the French supply which was daily expected. At length those who were besieged made a sally, caused the Congregation to fly, and took their artillery, till an army from England came under the conduct of the Duke of Norfolk. At which the Queen Regent being indisposed by the sea air at Leith, retired herself to the Castle of Edinburgh; where she took sickness, and died, during the time that Leith was besieged both by Scotland and England: regretting that she had occasioned to herself and the kingdom so much unnecessary trouble, by following the advice of her French friends.

During the siege of Leith, all Scotsmen who were in France, were detested; and divers of them upon suspicion made prisoners. Which obliged me to repair from the Constable's house to the Court, to require licence from the Queen my sovereign to visit other countries, whereby I might be rendered more able afterward to do her Majesty agreeable service: which she granted, and presenting me to the King her husband, I had a kiss of his hand, and so took my leave.

The Constable my good master recommended me to the Elector Palatine, advising me to remain at his court to learn the Dutch tongue. I was courteously received by the said Prince Elector; and obtained such favour at his hands, that he obliged me to attend at his Court as one of his servants. So soon as he heard of the death of King Francis II, King of France, who died at Orleans, I was sent to condole for the said King's death, as the custom of princes is, and rejoice with the new young King Charles IX, also to comfort our Queen and the Queen-mother. The King's death

made a great change: the Queen-mother was glad at the death of King Francis her son, because she had no guiding of him, he being wholly counselled by the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal his brother, the Queen our mistress being their sister's daughter; so that the Queen-mother was much satisfied to be freed of the government of the house of Guise; and for this cause she entertained a great grudge at our Queen. In the meantime, the King of Navar[1] and Prince of Condé, who were imprisoned, and should have been executed three days after, the scaffold being already prepared, were by the Queen-mother set at liberty. The Constable also having been charged to come to Court, expected no better measure: he therefore gave it out that he was sick; being carried in a horse-litter, and making little journeys, he drew out the time so long by the way, that in the meantime the King died. Whereof being informed, he leaped on a horse, and came frankly to Court, and like a Constable commanded the men of war who were upon the guards. The Duke of Guise and his brother were commanded out of the town. The Queen-mother was glad at the Constable's coming, seeing she found herself by his authority and friendship with the King of Navar the more in capacity to drive the house of Guise from Court.

The estates were convened at Orleans, and for the time the King of Navar fell to be tutor and governor to the young King and the country. But the Queen-mother knowing his faculty, hand-led the matter so finely by the Constable's help, that the King of Navar procured from the three estates that the Queen-mother should be Regent of the realm: to whom he rendered up his place, being satisfied to be but her lieutenant. She having attained this great point, caused the estates to require, that an account should be made to them, by the Duke of Guise, the Marshal de St André, and

[1] Navarre.

the Cardinal, of their intromission with the King's rents, and affairs of the King and country. Whereupon they left the Court, binding themselves together to defend themselves against the Queen-mother's malice: for, in effect, she was a deadly enemy to all of them who had either guided her husband or her eldest son.

I was all this time at Orleans, where I might see this change, and had great favour of the King of Navar for the Elector Palatine's sake, who was his great friend. The Queen-mother also highly esteemed the said Prince Elector, dispatching me with great thanks, and a gift worth a thousand crowns.

Our Queen in the meantime seeing her friends in disgrace, and knowing herself not to be much liked, she left the Court, and was a sorrowful widow, when I took leave of her at a gentleman's house four miles from Orleans. So I returned to Dutchland, with many instructions from the Queen-mother and King of Navar. For she appeared to be inclined to profess publicly the Reformed Religion, thinking it the meetest way to retain the government and guiding of the King of Navar; that being the only faction which appeared able to gainstand the house of Guise, who were banded with the Pope and King of Spain. The said Queen-mother likewise entertained some resolutions of joining with the Protestant princes of Dutchland, and with the Queen of England, Count Egmont, Prince of Orange, Count Horn, and such as had in the Low Countries embraced the Reformed Religion, or stood up for the liberty of their country.

I being returned to Dutchland received news out of England from Mr Killegrew my old friend, that the peace was concluded in Scotland at the siege of Leith: that the Frenchmen were to be carried to France in the Queen of England's ships: that the Queen of Scotland was to lay aside the arms of England: and

the Congregation to have the free exercise of their Religion. I leave all the proceedings in the wars in Scotland to be declared by such as were present, who will probably write that whole history: I shall only touch such things as I myself was employed in, which I did see with my eyes, and hear with my ears, which may serve for little parentheses to historiographers, who had not the occasion of being so well therewith acquainted.

Our Queen, then Dowager of France, retired herself by little and little further and further from the Court of France, that it might not appear that she was any way compelled thereto, as of a truth she was by the Queen-mother's rigorous dealing, who alleged that she had been despised by her daughter-in-law, during the short reign of King Francis II her husband, at the instigation of the house of Guise.

Monsieur de Martigues, Monsieur d'Osel, la Brosse, the Bishop of Amiens, and such other Frenchmen as were lately carried out of Scotland in the English ships, resorted to our Queen, and declared unto her the whole progress of affairs, and the state of the kingdom. These, as well as the rest of her friends, advised her to return to Scotland (encouraging her with the hopes of succeeding to the crown of England) rather than to endure the Queen-mother's disdain in France: desiring her, as most conducing for her interest, to serve the time, to accommodate herself discreetly and gently to her own subjects; to be most familiar with my Lord James, Prior of St Andrew's, her natural brother; and with the Earl of Argile, who had married Lady Jean Stuart, her natural sister; and to use the Secretary Lidington [1] and the Laird of Grange most tenderly in all her affairs; and, in sum, to repose most upon those of the Reformed Religion. Thus, those who were a little before cruelly persecuted, are now

[1] Lethington.

to be esteemed for chiefest and truest friends. Thus can God by His Divine Providence renverse the finest practices and pretences of mighty rulers and potentates, and turn all to the best to such as serve Him with a sincere heart: as, on the other hand, God abhorreth such subjects as hypocritically, under pretext of religion, take occasion to rebel against their native princes, for ambition, greediness, or any other worldly respect.

The Prior of St Andrew's being advertised of the Queen his sovereign's deliberation to return to Scotland, and to use his and his friends' advice; he goeth to France, requesting her Majesty to return to her own, promising to serve her faithfully to the utmost of his power: and returns again to Scotland, to prepare the hearts of her subjects against her home-coming. After this, her Majesty went to Janville,[1] the Duke of Guise's dwelling-place, about the marches of Lorrain, and at length went to visit the Duke of Lorrain at Nancy; where I chanced to come shortly after, in company of the Duke Casimir second son to the Elector Palatine. But the Queen was already parted from the Court of Lorrain toward Janville; whither I took occasion to go to tender to her Majesty the offer of my most humble and dutiful service. And the said Duke Casimir, understanding that I was to ride thither, did write a very kind letter to her Majesty, comforting her the best he could, offering his service in case any in France should wrong or injure her, and that he would bring to her aid upon her letter 10,000 men.

Her Majesty was much refreshed with this friendly offer; and she was pleased to give me thanks for the demonstrations I had given of being entirely devoted to her interest, showing me she had been made acquainted therewith while I was at the Court of France. She desired me earnestly, when I resoved to retire out of Germany, to come home and serve her Majesty,

[1] Joinville.

with very friendly and favourable offers. So I returned back to the Duke Casimir, who was about contracting a marriage with the Duke of Lorrain's eldest sister: which took not effect, because the old Duchess her mother, who was King Christiernus' daughter of Denmark, begotten upon the Emperor Charles's sister, who also lost the kingdom of Denmark, pretending to make it hereditable, whereas it was elective (the said King Christiernus was kept in prison, till his death); this Duchess [I say] his daughter alleged, that the kingdom of Norway appertained unto her, as heir unto her father, and that the said kingdom was hereditary unto her father, albeit Denmark was not; and intended then to marry her eldest daughter unto Frederick, King of Denmark, and to give over with her said daughter the kingdom of Norway. But the said Duchess offered unto Duke Casimir her second daughter; which he refused, and dealt with his father to send me unto England, to propose marriage for him unto the Queen of England. But I refused to undertake that commission, having ground to conjecture that she would never marry, upon the reflexion I made upon that story one of the Gentlemen of her Chamber had told me; seeing the knowing herself unable for succession, I supposed she would never render herself subject to any man. The said Duke was very much displeased at me, because I refused.

About this time the Cardinal of Lorrain being at Trent, took occasion to visit the old Emperor Ferdinand at Inspruck his dwelling-place, not far from Trent. And there the said Cardinal proposed two marriages, first the King of France Charles IX to the eldest daughter of Maximilian son to Ferdinand, lately chosen King of the Romans, and coadjutor to the Empire. Then he proposed the Queen of Scotland dowager of France to Charles Archduke of Austria, brother to the said Maximilian.

The Queen was by this time returned to Scotland, and apparently had been advertised by the said Cardinal, that he had proposed the said marriage, and it seems she had relished the overture.

Her Majesty returning was gladly welcomed by the whole subjects. For at first, following the counsel of her friends, she behaved herself humanely to them all, committing the chief handling of her affairs unto her brother the Prior of St Andrew's, whom afterward she made Earl of Murray,[1] and to the Secretary Lidington, as meetest, both to hold the country at her devotion, and also to beget a strict friendship between her Majesty and the Queen of England. For my Lord Murray had great credit with my Lord Robert Dudley, who was afterward made Earl of Leicester. And the Secretary Lidington had great credit with the Secretary Cecil. So that these four made a strict and sisterly friendship between the two Queens, and their countries. So that there appeared outwardly no more difference, but that the Queen of England was the elder sister, and the Queen of Scotland the younger, whom the Queen of England promised to declare second person, according to her good behaviour. So that letters and correspondence passed weekly betwixt them; and at first there appeared nothing more desired by either of them, than that they might see one another, by a meeting at a convenient place, whereby they might also declare their hearty and loving minds each to other: for our Queen was so nettled with the hard usage she had met with from the Queen-mother of France, who had likewise hardly used all her friends of the house of Guise, that she was the more earnest to make friendship with her, and with such whom she knew that Queen liked worst.

The two Queens this way keeping on their outward friendship for a while, with the plain and honest

[1] Moray.

meaning of our Queen, as I afterward did perfectly know; there came a letter to me out of Scotland from the Secretary Lidington, at the Queen's command, desiring me to make myself acquainted with the Archduke Charles of Austria, youngest brother to Maximilian then King of the Romans, and Emperor in effect; for the Emperor Ferdinand his father had nothing but the name, by reason of his age. I was desired to inform myself concerning his Religion, his rents and his qualities, his age and stature, and desired to send home word, and therewith to send his picture, if it could be done. It was thought I might obtain the occasion thereof by means of the Elector Palatine my master, for the time greatest in favour with the Emperor Maximilian.

Now my Lord Elector being at an imperial convention holden at Ausburg, had of his own head inquired of Maximilian, what the Cardinal of Lorrain's business had been with his father Ferdinand when he came to see him from Trent: for the good Elector was afraid it had been about some matters of Religion. For Ferdinand was a devout Catholic, and Maximilian appeared to be a zealous Protestant: for he was but lately chosen King of the Romans at Frankfort, not without difficulty. Being himself one of the seven Electors as King of Bohemia, he was to sue Electors for their votes; to wit, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Duke of Brandenburg, three Protestant princes; and three Bishops, Mentz, Triers and Cologne, Catholics. Both these factions were put in hope, that being Emperor he would declare himself of their principles. In the meantime he used secret preachings, to please the Protestants: but he went openly to the mass, whereby the Bishops thought themselves assured of him. But the good Elector Palatine believed firmly, that after his father's death he would declare himself a plain Protestant. Thus

he won both parties to make him Emperor. He told the Elector Palatine at the convention in Ausburg, that the Cardinal of Lorrain had proposed two marriages to the Emperor his father: the one was, Charles young King of France to his own eldest daughter; the other was, the Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, to his brother the Archduke Charles. The Elector inquired how he relished these two marriages. He answered he could not but like well of them, seeing he was not to expect a better match to his daughter than the King of France, nor to his brother than the Queen of Scotland, who the Cardinal also alleged had right to the crown of England. The Elector said, that since he was pleased with the overture of marrying his brother to the Queen of Scotland, that he had a Scottish gentleman with him, who could be a good instrument to bring forward the said marriage.

Whereupon Maximilian desired to speak with me; and because for the time I was in the country of Hesse, he desired him to send me to him upon my return. Which the Elector did, and sent with me one of his council, called Monsieur Zuliger, joining us in one commission. When we had given account of our said commission, my companion told the Emperor, that I had a particular with his Majesty, and so retired himself, leaving me alone in the chamber: where I presented a letter to him, written with the Elector's own hand in Dutch, signifying that I was the Scotsman whom he promised to send unto him.

After he had read the writing, he did show me the part wherein the Elector assured him that I would show him the truth of all such things as I knew, which he would ask of me, saying, you are much obliged to the Elector Palatine, for he hath given me a very good character of you. I pray you, says he, tell me how long you have been in his company. I said, more than three

years. He inquired why I did not answer in Dutch. I answered, because I had the French more familiar, and knew that no language could come wrong to his majesty. For he could very promptly speak good Latin, Italian, Spanish, Sclavonian and French. Then he inquired again in French, how I came to the Elector Palatine. I told him, that being brought up at the Court of France with the Constable, there had fallen out some variance between France and Scotland, partly occasioned from difference in Religion, and partly from other particulars, whence proceeded a general dislike at the Court of all Scotsmen at that time in France, some being upon suspicion imprisoned, others looked down upon; the consideration whereof hastened my prosecuting a former intention I had deliberated upon, of visiting other countries: that being minded to begin at Dutchland, the Constable of France had by his letter addressed me to the Elector Palatine. He inquired how long I had remained with the Constable. I answered, nine years. He said, I was happy who had been so long in company with two of the wisest men in Europe, and was pleased to say that he was glad of the occasion of being acquainted with me.

He began more particularly to show unto me the cause why he desired to speak with me, inquiring concerning the estate of Scotland, of the late troubles with France, of the agreement new made, what great men had the greatest interest, and all the noblemen's names who had assisted both parties. He proceeded to inquire further, what help England had made unto Scotland during the troubles with France; if they were bandied together; if their friendship continued; and of the Queen's title to England; if the nobility of Scotland would concur to advance her to the crown of England; if they would think it the interest of Scotland to have the two kingdoms joined in one, seeing it was to be supposed, that the Queen or Prince

would certainly choose to dwell in the best country; and thereby would be further from them. These and several other things he inquired, and I answered as I thought most pertinent.

When he had heard my returns, he was pleased to say it was not the least good office that my Lord Elector had done him, in sending me to him, and gave me thanks that I had been at the pains to come. If Charles my brother, says he, were so happy as to obtain your Queen in marriage, no man shall have more credit with him than you. He desired me to abide with him some time, that he might discourse with me at more length. So I tarried with him twenty days with very favourable entertainment; and discoursing with me several times, he put me in hope that his brother Charles would be shortly at home: and gave me an account of such news as came to him from all countries. It was he who first told me of the death of the Duke of Guise, killed by Poltrot at the siege of Orleans. He appeared to be very glad at the death of that gallant warrior, though I could not conjecture for the time what could move him.

By frequent conference with him, I suspected that he would be an enemy to the marriage of his brother with our Queen: but, to get some further trial thereof, I requested my companion Monsieur Zuliger to drink himself merry with some of his secretaries, and then to cast in the purpose of the marriage of our Queen with Duke Charles, whether or no it was desired or relished by the Emperor. The said Secretary showed him plainly that he was against any such preferment to his brother, whereby he might become king both of Scotland and England, by reason of an essay that the Emperor Charles V had made once, to divide his dominions among the three sons of Ferdinand his brother, failing heirs of King Philip his son, who then had but one son, Don Carlo, sickly, and of a

tender weak complexion; whom he afterwards himself killed secretly in prison, suspecting him to be of the Reformed Religion, and to keep intelligence with the princes of Flanders who professed the same. And Maximilian hoped to succeed to the whole, failing heirs of the said King Philip, as having married the said Philip's sister, and having by her many children of his own, whom he rather desired to be preferred than his own brother. For in case the Archduke Charles had been made King of Scotland and England, he thought thereby he would have the fitter occasion of usurping the Low Countries, upon the pretext of some old right.

Having understood this, I would wait no longer but pressed daily for my dispatch, that I might return to my Lord Elector: and the Emperor again used great entreaties to oblige me to stay with him, promising to advance me if I would enter into his service; but finding no inclination in me to comply with his desire therein, he at length willed me to stay with him but half a year. But I humbly excused myself, pretending that I behoved to be shortly in Scotland; which moved him the more earnestly to desire me to stay with him: which because I would not grant to do, I found he was discontent.

One night late after supper he parted in a boat towards the town of Lintz, and sent his Secretary unto me, excusing himself that he did not meet with me before parting, seeing an urgent occasion called for his speedy departure: and seeing I was to return to Scotland, he had written a letter to the Queen in my favour, which the Secretary delivered unto me. I told the Secretary that I had not yet seen Italy, and that I was purposed first to visit Rome, Venice, Florence, and the most remarkable cities there, ere I returned to Scotland: upon which account, at first I refused the said letter; but he answered there was

no danger how long it was undelivered, seeing there was nothing therein contained but what concerned myself.

The town of Ausburg being the nearest port of Germany to Venice, I agreed with Monsieur Zuliger to return toward my Lord Elector, and thence I took my journey towards Venice and Rome: and came back through all the fairest cities of Italy, and through Switzerland to Heidelberg, where the Prince Elector kept his court.

I have above declared how that the Duke of Guise was slain by Poltrot at the siege of Orleans. It was after the battle of Dreux, in the which both the chieftains were taken: the Prince of Condé for those of the religion, and the Constable for the King. The Queen-mother incontinently made the peace, far against the mind of Madam de Guise, who earnestly requested her not to make the peace so suddenly, lest it should be thought that the Duke of Guise had only had hand in the wars. But nevertheless the Queen-mother went forward with the peace, changing the Prince of Condé for the Constable, making them both good instruments of the agreement.

The peace being made, the Queen-mother began to think upon a wife for her son King Charles. For that effect, she sent unto the Prince Palatine a secretary called Monsieur Mylot, showing unto him that the King her son was very desirous to marry Maximilian's eldest daughter: entreating him as a trusty friend to propose the matter as of his own head, as a steadable alliance, conducing for the weal of the empire; and to send her the picture of the Princess, which she thought fit to be done upon same considerations, before she would proceed more publicly. Which affair he went about most diligently, and he was pleased to send me with the answer and picture, with a congratulation of the late made peace.

At my coming to the Court of France, which was at Paris for the time, the Constable would needs be my convoy to the young King and Queen-mother, who had a misliking of the said Constable for the time, because he had brought in the Admiral to Paris against her will, who was accused to have promised reward unto the foresaid Poltrot, to kill the Duke of Guise. The Admiral again desired to come before the privy council to purge himself, offering to undergo his trial. But the Queen-mother desired not these animosities among the great men to be removed, but rather wished that their hatred might continue, and their contentions increase, as having laid her plot to secure her own greatness by the means of their strife, as was after manifestly seen. For during their divisions, the Duke of Guise, King of Navarre, Prince of Condé, the Constable, the Marshal de St André, with the most notable great men of France, were all slain. And because the said Admiral escaped during the wars, the peace was made for the third time; and under the covert of marriage of the young King of Navarre, who was afterward King of France, the said Admiral was barbarously murdered with all that remained of the worthiest noblemen and captains of France.

But to return to the purpose: the Constable and Admiral were at Court at that time against the Queen-mother's will, where the Admiral was declared innocent of the Duke of Guise's slaughter. And at that time the Constable determined to abide at Court, and to maintain himself in his office of great master, by the authority of his great office of the Constabulary, assisted by the force of his friends: for he sufficiently understood the Queen-mother's Italian tricks. Therefore, to win credit, he presented me to the young King, and sat down upon a stool by him and the Queen his mother, and held his bonnet upon his head, taking upon him the full authority of his great office, to the

Queen-mother's great discontent; whereat she was so impatient, that she turned away her face when I was declaring my commission.

After the delivery of my letters of credence to the King and her, which the King was very glad to hear, being thereby put in hope that the marriage would take effect; he was so desirous to see the picture of that young Princess, that he cut the thread himself that bound on the wax-cloth about the said picture. In the meantime I retired me forth of the chamber; and was earnestly sought after the rest of the day, but could not be found, until the Constable and Admiral came to their chamber at even; who inquiring of me the cause of my retiring, I remembered the Constable, in what a rage the Queen-mother was when I delivered my commission; and that I found myself obliged in honour to stand upon the reputation of my master, who was a free Prince. Whereupon they appeared well satisfied, approving what I had done; but withal they told me, that they were the cause of that bad humour the Queen-mother had been in, and that she had made a proclamation, that all Ambassadors should address themselves to the King, and her as Regent. Therefore they advised me to go the next day to see her at dinner, assuring me that she would not fail to call for me, and inquire the cause of my absenting before I had told out my commission; and he instructed me what I should say in answer. So soon as her Majesty perceived me, she desired me to stay till she had dined, telling me that she would send for her son the King to come to her chamber, to hear out the rest of my commission.

The King being come, the chamber was voided, and her Majesty first inquired why I told not out the rest of my commission the day before? I answered, as I had been instructed, how that it appeared to me for the time, she desired not so many auditors, and that

I stayed upon her better opportunity; which answer she appeared much to relish, desiring me when at any other time I should be sent again, to address myself only to the King, and to her, and to no other. I answered, that among all the King's servants I was best acquainted with the Constable, and therefore had made him my convoy to both their Majesties. No, says she, I find no fault that you addressed yourself to him; yet I knew she entertained a mortal hatred against him. So after I had ended the declaration of my whole commission, first concerning the congratulation of the peace, and then made excuses in the name of the confederate Princes of the Empire for sending help to the Prince Condé during the wars for Religion, with a request to keep the said peace inviolate, and to make such laws of oblivion, as were wont to be done among the Greeks and Romans, after such civil dissensions. And then I gave a full account, how my Lord Elector had proceeded with Maximilian, and what his answer was.

All the time that I spoke, she remembered the King to take good notice, saying, he was much obliged to that good Prince, that took such pains for his marriage and the weal of his kingdom. Then she drew me aside, entering into a particular discourse with me, telling me that she hoped I would not make too long stay in Dutchland, but resolve to spend some of my time in the Court of France, seeing it was there I had been brought up. For albeit, she said, she had several who could speak Dutch, yet there was none about her, who were so familiar with the Princes of the Empire as I was, or had such favour and credit, as she understood I had, to do the King and her service. Therefore she offered to make me a Gentleman of the King's Chamber, to provide me with an honourable pension, to advance me to offices and honours, as if I had been a Frenchman born; and that she would employ me not only

to Germany, but also to England and Flanders. I gave her Majesty many thanks, taking her offer to my consideration.

In the meantime that I was waiting upon my dispatch, the Admiral's death was conspired by the brother and friends of the Duke of Guise, to be executed by Captain Charray, in great favour with the Queen-mother as chief captain of her guard, commanding 600 hacbutiers Gascons. The said enterprise being discovered to the Constable by the old Duchess of Ferrara, daughter to King Lewis XII, mother to the widow Duchess of Guise. The Constable went to his house, four leagues from Paris; and the next day after the said Captain Charray was slain upon the streets of Paris, by Monsieur Chattelier, the Admiral's friend; which put the Queen and all the Court into a fear and firm opinion that the deed was done by the Constable's and Admiral's direction. But the Admiral purged himself; the Constable was sent for, and many requests made to him to settle and establish quietness in the Court and city.

While I was yet at Paris undispatched, I received letters from the Earl of Murray and Lidington at the Queen's command, calling me home to be employed in her Majesty's service, in some of her affairs of consequence; which I presupposed to be concerning her marriage. Whereupon I determined to obey my Queen's commands, and immediately after my return to Germany, to prepare for a journey to Scotland; though this resolution of mine was far contrary to the mind of the Constable, Admiral and Prince Palatine. But his son Duke Casimir took occasion to desire me to present his picture to Queen Elizabeth. I have said already that he was very dissatisfied, because I refused to go to England to propose marriage for him to the Queen, he having been encouraged thereto by the Vidame of Chartes, lately come hither from the

Court of England, who thought himself so familiar with that Queen, that he sent an Italian gentleman of his, to propose that marriage, as he alleged, at the instance of the Elector Palatine, to whom the Queen gave a general answer, desiring the young Prince to come into England, either openly, or privately disguised, and declaring that she would never marry man till she might first see him. Notwithstanding hereof I still dissuaded his father from sending him, alleging that he would be very chargeable to him, and that he would reap nothing but scorn in recompense. Whereat the young Prince was so moved that he left the Court for three days. But the good Prince his father sent for him, threatening to discountenance him if he became not my friend. Whereupon we agreed, that at this time I should carry with me his picture, and present it to the Queen of England in my return to Scotland, seeing I was so averse from his going thither in person. Which I was satisfied to do, providing that I might also carry along with me the picture of his father and mother, and of all the rest of his brothers and sisters, together with a familiar letter from the Elector, whereby I might have the more easy access, and fitter opportunity to bring in the purpose of the pictures, as by accident hoping that she would desire to see them, especially the picture of the said young Duke.

So having obtained my desire, I parted from Heidelberg, where the Elector held his Court for the time, who gave me a commission to the Queen of England; to wit, an answer to her demanded alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Protestant Princes of Germany, which formerly had been but obscurely answered unto her ambassador Sir Henry Knolls,[1] at the diet imperial holden at Francfort in the year 1562; excusing himself, and the rest of the princes his confederates, who

[1] Knollys.

had but lately chosen Maximilian to be King of the Romans, and coadjutor to the Emperor his father, seeing he had promised unto them to declare himself openly a Protestant, so soon as he durst, after the decease of his old father Ferdinand: and in the meantime had their promise to keep correspondence with him, and to make no league with any foreign prince without his consent and knowledge. And that if they had done otherwise, he might perchance have taken occasion thereupon, to lay the blame upon them in case he did not as he had promised. For they began to fear and doubt of his upright meaning in reference to Religion, and yet thought not fit upon their part to give him any ground to lay the blame upon them. But in case he kept not his promise after the decease of Ferdinand, they should then presently make such alliance with her as she had required, which they durst not for the time discover unto her Ambassador, requesting her Majesty to keep this secret to herself.

She appeared satisfied with this excuse, promising to discover it to none of her council; but she lamented that the princes of Germany were so slow and tedious in all their deliberations. Whereupon I began to praise them for their truth, constancy, religion, ardour and quick execution, after they had concluded any weighty matter. But I set out most specially the Elector Palatine's humanity, his treating of strangers, upholding of universities, and how he was the mouth of his confederates to deal with all other neighbour princes. She answered that I had reason to speak so concerning him, for he had written very much in my favour, regretting that the inclinations I had to serve my native Queen, had obliged me to leave him, though he would gladly have retained me with him a longer space. I told her Majesty what a great trouble it was to me to resolve to leave the service of so worthy a Prince; that no consideration could have engaged me

thereunto, other than that duty I owed to my sovereign, who had commanded me to attend her affairs. That for the better remembrance of him, I desired to carry home with me his picture, and the pictures of all his sons and daughters. So soon as she heard me mention the pictures, she inquired if I had the picture of the Duke Casimir, desiring to see it. And when I alleged I had left the pictures in London, she being then at Hampton-Court, and that I was ready to go forward on my journey, she said I should not part till she had seen all the pictures. So the next day I delivered them all to her Majesty, and she desired to keep them all night, and she called upon my Lord Robert Dudley to be judge of Duke Casimir's picture, and appointed me to meet her the next morning in her garden, where she caused to deliver them all unto me, giving me thanks for the sight of them.

I again offered unto her Majesty all the pictures so she would permit me to retain the Elector's and his lady's; but she would have none of them. I had also sure information, that first and last she despised the said Duke Casimir. Therefore I did write back from London to his father and him in cypher, dissuading them to meddle any more in that marriage: and received great thanks afterward from the said young Duke, who immediately married the Elector of Saxony's eldest daughter.

Albeit this may appear something from the purpose of the Queen our sovereign, yet it brings me home to her Majesty with some proposals of marriage to herself. For the Queen of England entertained me very familiarly, showing me the sisterly love that was betwixt her and the Queen our sovereign, how careful she was of her welfare, how desirous to see her well settled in her own country with her subjects, and also well married. That she was resolved to propose two persons for fit husbands unto her, whereby their

amity might best stand and increase, hoping that she would not marry without her advice, promising upon her faith to write to me so soon as I was arrived at Scotland, with her own hand, that I might be a good instrument to move the Queen my mistress to accept either the one or the other. Now though she forgot to write unto me about it, yet she sent instructions to Mr Randolph, to propose my Lord Robert Dudley as a very meet husband for our Queen. I supposed that my Lord Robert, afterward Earl of Leicester, had dissuaded her from employing me in that matter, seeing Mr Randolph was there already, her Majesty's agent.

Now the Queen my mistress, to keep promise and correspondence with the Queen of England, had sent and advertised her of the proposal made to her of a marriage with the Archduke Charles, requiring her friendly advice and consent therein.

The Queen of England answered her by her agent Mr Thomas Randolph, as followeth; for after a little preface, he declares, and gives in by writing, this to be the Queen his Mistress's mind:—

"The Queen my sovereign (said he) hath not only deeply advised about that proposal of marriage with your Majesty but hath also thought it necessary by me to show you what she thinketh both meet and unmeet to be considered, and seemingly to her by way of friendship to declare, as a dear sister who intends your Majesty's honour, and as a loving friend who is careful of your welfare.

"Three special things her Majesty thinks fit to be considered in marriage.

"First, the mutual contentment betwixt both parties in respect of their private personages, so that their love each towards another may continue as well before God as man.

" Secondly, that the person may be such as your Majesty, being a Queen of a great realm and multitude of people, may be sure of an advantageous alliance, such as cannot be prejudicial to your country's interest.

" Thirdly, she thinks fit that the choice be such, that the amity which is now so strict betwixt the Queen's Majesty and your Highness, not only for your own persons, but with both realms, may be continued, and not dissolved or diminished. Then he declares at length, how that he doubts not but that her Majesty, who was once already married, will know how considerately to ponder the match, that it may be meet for herself and her subjects: but as to what belonged unto the Queen his sovereign, it merited to be well considered.

" It is true that the seeking out a husband to your Majesty is honourable and expedient; a thing that her Majesty relisheth much in your Highness, albeit hitherto she hath not found such disposition in herself, remitting her heart and mind in that affair to be directed by the Almighty God.

" But this herein her Majesty considereth, that to seek out such a husband, as is sought for by your friends, in the Emperor's lineage, will certainly procure at last some misunderstanding, and give apparent occasion of dissolving the concord that is now betwixt the two nations, and an interruption of such a course, as otherwise might be taken to further and advance such a title as your highness hath to succeed to her Majesty, to the crown of England, if she should depart without issue of her body.

" Then he useth some unfit persuasions and menaces, threatening that some in England were going about with practices to set forward their pretended right, to her Majesty's prejudice; which she, by her discreet behaviour and conformity to his mistress's pleasure, might prevent; by moving her thereby, not only to

proceed in the inquisition after your Majesty's right, and with her power to further the same, but also to hinder that which appears to be to the contrary.

"And now, if your Majesty would know what kind of marriage would best content her and her realm; such a one as would breed no jealousy nor trouble betwixt your Majesties and your countries, as did the marriage with the French King; but rather it is to be wished, that there might be found out some nobleman of great birth in England, who might be agreeable to you; with whom her Majesty would more readily and more easily declare, that she inclines that failing of children of her own body, you might succeed to her crown: otherwise I do plainly tell you, that my sovereign can promise nothing in that matter tending to your satisfaction."

These were Mr Randolph's first instructions and propositions unto the Queen, concerning her marriage with the Archduke Charles. But he had a secret commission to my Lord of Murray and Secretary Lidington, to propose my Lord Robert Dudley; and he desired me also to set forward his marriage with the Queen, as meetest of all other.

By this kind of procedure it was apparent, that the Queen of England did not relish this proposal of marriage of the Archduke Charles to our Queen. She gave a farther and more clear demonstration thereof a little after, by sending the Earl of Sussex to the Emperor's court, as well to congratulate his coronation, as indirectly to draw on the marriage of the Archduke Charles with herself: and she was put in hope that it would take effect. Yet this design was not so secretly managed, but our Queen was thereof advertised, by some of her friends in England. And from hence arose inward griefs and grudges between the two Queens, which within a little time bursted forth,

occasion thereof being given by the Queen of England: for in a familiar letter to our Queen, she appeared therein to give her, as formerly, a friendly advice; which our Queen thought but double dealing, remembering as well her late dissuading answer from the marriage of the Archduke Charles, as her late practices in the Emperor's court.

The Queen of England's letter was written at the desire of some of the house of Hamilton: for after that Mr Randolph had spoken, as is above mentioned, against the marriage of the Queen with the Archduke Charles, and he alleged that some noblemen in England would be fitter matches for her; he proceeded so far with my Lord of Murray and Secretary Lidington, as to say, what would you think of my Lord Robert Dudley for your Queen? But finding small account to be made of him, he advertised the Queen his mistress thereof. Whereupon liberty was granted to Matthew, Earl of Lenox,[1] who dwelt then in England, to go to Scotland, as desirous to see the Queen, and take course in some of his own affairs. Now his eldest son, my Lord Darnly,[2] was a lusty young prince, and apparently was one of the two that the Queen of England had told me that she had in her head to offer unto our Queen, as born within the realm of England.

But to return unto the letter written by the Queen of England unto our Queen: she would appear therein to be very careful for the Queen her sister's quiet estate and government, desiring her to take heed, that in showing pleasure to the Earl of Lenox, she did not displease the house of Hamilton, seeing thereby trouble and strife might arise in her country. Sundry other such purposes she had, which at some time would not have been taken in ill part; but now all advices given by the Queen of England were misconstructed, partly because of her being instrumental

[1] Lennox. [2] Darnley.

in hindering the marriage with Prince Charles, and partly because David Riccio, lately admitted to be her French secretary, was not very skilful in inditing French letters, which she did write over again with her own hand.

The answer then that our Queen did write unto the said letter, declared some suspicions and anger to have been taken; and these she manifested in some harsh expressions, which were constructed by the Queen of England as a violation of their former familiarity and sisterly correspondence, which had been ever kept up since the Queen's return out of France. Whereupon ensued so great a coldness, that they left off for a considerable time from writing each to other, as they had formerly done weekly by post. So that the Queen resolved to send me to England, to renew their outward friendship; for in their hearts from that time forth there was nothing but jealousies and suspicions. The Queen my mistress thought, that if their discord continued, it would cut off all correspondence between her and her friends in England: and that Queen had no inclination for war, but by all means possible desired to shun trouble, or any occasion of expenses, the King of Spain and she being already entered into controversy: for he judged her a fomenter of the troubles in Flanders and the Low Countries; and not without reason. For she thought herself abandoned by the King of Spain at the late peace made at Cambray; and her chief counsellors thought it convenient for the interest of England, that factions should be nourished in France, Flanders, Scotland and Spain.

At my home-coming to Scotland, I found the Queen's Majesty at St Johnston,[1] in the year of God 1564, the 5th day of May. I was very favourably received by the Queen's Majesty, and presented unto her letters from the Emperor Maximilian, the Elector

[1] Perth.

Palatine, the Duke of Lorrain, and Cardinal of Lorrain, and Duke of Aumale, all in my favours.

After that I had at length informed her that I found Maximilian was against the marriage of his brother Charles; she likewise understanding the Queen of England's part therein, as is above specified, she altogether laid aside any further thoughts of the marriage with the Archduke Charles. And whereas she had once resolved to have sent me to Germany, she takes another resolution, intending that I should be sent to England: though I was not yet resolved in settling myself in Scotland, seeing small probability of advantage, and greater appearance of troubles and disorders, than I could ever imagine to find at my home-coming: and I was somewhat loath to lose the occasion and offers of great preferment that had been made to me in France and other parts. But I found the Queen my sovereign so urgent, and of herself well inclined, and endowed with so many princely virtues, that I could not find in my heart to leave her, requiring so earnestly my help and assistance, to draw the hearts of her subjects to her, which were alienated upon account of difference in religion. I knew she stood in need to gain friends, and that it was much her interest to keep correspondence with the Queen of England; so that I resolved rather to serve her my native Queen for little profit, than any other prince in Europe for great advantage. I found her naturally more liberal than her revenues allowed her: for she not only settled upon me in pensions 1000 merks yearly out of her revenues in France, but she also offered me her heritage of her lands in Auchtermuchtie; which I refused to accept, alleging I could better want it than she: though another hearing of so liberal an offer, a little after sought and obtained it.

Thus I was engaged to resolve to wait upon her commands, and to lay aside all hope of any other pre-

ferment in France and other countries, albeit for the time I had no heritage but my service. So within a few weeks I was dispatched to England, with these following instructions out of the Queen's own mouth, to deal with the Queen of England, with the Spanish Ambassador, and with my Lady Margaret Douglas, and with sundry friends she had in England of different opinions. The general instructions were written with the Secretary Lidington's own hand, subscribed by her Majesty as follows:—

Instructions to our familiar servitor James Melville, presently directed to our dearest sister the Queen of England.

Given at Edinburgh, the 28th of September, 1564.

"In the first, after that you have presented our letters and our commendations in most hearty manner, you shall declare unto our good sister, that having been upon my progress towards the northmost parts of our realm this two months, during which time we have had neither letter nor other advertisement from our good sister: therefore, for continuation of the mutual intelligence betwixt us, by all good offices of amity, we resolved to direct you towards her, to visit her on our behalf, to inform her of our health and good estate, that at your return you may be able to report the like of her unto us, she being the person in the world to whom, next ourself, we wish most good luck and prosperity.

"Item, that by letters of my Lord Robert to Lidington, as also of her Secretary to our brother Murray and to Lidington, we have perceived that our said good sister finds some fault with our letters written to her in answer of hers in the Earl of Lenox's matter, as if we had taken her motion therein in evil part. We are most sorry that our letters have been so interpreted;

for of a truth we had no other meaning of her in that matter, than that her advertisement came from a friendly mind, and was both worthy of thanks, and to be answered, with the like good-will, as we believe we did in our letter, albeit we remember not presently the very words or substance thereof. For we use not to reserve any copy of our familiar letters written with our own hand, whereof we now repent because of that letter: for if we had any copy thereof, we might now clear ourselves of that doubt, viz.: what words therein could give her ground of offence. Therefore you shall pray her in our name, to let you see in that letter what words they are which have offended her; that you thereupon declaring my meaning, may put her out of any such suspicion. It is true, at the receipt of the letter, we were somewhat offended, and judged we had good cause, seeing it appeared that our nobility were grieved with our licence granted to the Earl of Lenox, that his coming was like to disturb the peace and quiet of our realm. Our brother and Lidington show unto us, that they perceived by their secretaries' letters, that they were also thought partakers in this matter; and that they mistaking also his coming, desired the stay thereof to be procured by these indecent means: though they protested the contrary unto us, and indeed we have better proof of their fidelity toward us, than that we can suspect any such double dealing from their hands, they being so far obliged to us, and so much entrusted by us. We thought ourselves little indebted to that person, whosoever he was, that made such report of our subjects, that they would make known their grievances to any other than ourselves.

"These and the like considerations moved us to great choler, which probably might have occasioned us to write the more freely, and that we were not curious to cover our passions, writing to her with whom we esteemed ourselves so familiar, that we had ground to

believe she would take all in good part that proceeded from us, especially what was no ways designed for her offence. Therefore you shall pray her to put away all such opinions, if she have conceived any: and if there be any word in our letter having two senses, so that any one may be misconstrued, and so give to her occasion of offence; entreat that she will rather interpret the same to the gentlest signification, and not take it in the worst sense. And then I doubt not but the whole letter shall appear to her as it was by us conceived and directed, that is, from one dear friend to another.

"We have further hereupon imparted our mind to you by mouth, which you may enlarge as occasion requires.

"You may desire her to give you an answer conform to the substance of Lidington's letters, written to my Lord Robert and Mr Cecil; especially concerning the drawing on another meeting of men of credit, fully instructed with both our minds, and to deal so plainly and frankly as all suspicion may have an end.

"You must also inform yourself diligently concerning the proceedings and intentions of this present Parliament, of all such as can give you any knowledge therein; for what cause it is called; what is to be treated in it; how long it will sit. Endeavour to inform yourself, if anything touching us will be therein handled. You may say to that Queen, as out of your own head, that your mistress expects that she will suffer nothing to be treated therein that may directly or indirectly tend to our prejudice, we not being by her forewarned thereof. She knows, that as well ourself, as our ministers, whom we have at any time directed to these parts, have ever depended upon her only advice, and followed the same in all points. And seeing the special matter moved in the beginning of the last Parliament was the establishing of the succession, and that it was probable that the subjects

would yet be earnest to be at a certainty in that point: and if she omits so good an occasion of doing something for us, whereby the world may understand that she useth us and esteems us as her next cousin and only sister, the world will think that her amity is not so great, as we take it to be. And such as envy our familiarity, and would have it broken, will hence take occasion to speak, that our friendship is rather in words than deeds.

Marie R."

Being arrived at London, I lodged near the Court which was at Westminster. My host immediately gave advertisement of my coming; and that same night her Majesty sent Mr Hatton, afterward Governor of the Isle of Wight, in her name to welcome me, and to show me, that the next morning she would give me audience in her garden at eight of the clock. She had been advertised by the Earl of Bedford, Governor of Berwick, that I was upon the way. That same night I was visited by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, one of my old and dearest friends by long acquaintance; first during his banishment in France, in the reign of Queen Mary; and afterward while he was ambassador in France for this Queen, where I was for the time pensioner to King Henry II and servant to the Constable.

This Sir Nicholas was my dear friend, and had procured a pension for me from his mistress, to help to entertain me on my travels, when I had willingly banished myself the court of France, so long as there were civil wars between France and Scotland. He was a devout friend to the Queen my mistress, and to her right and title to the succession to the crown of England. From him I had full information of affairs, and friendly advice how to proceed with the Queen, and every courtier in particular: for he was a special

instrument of helping my Lord of Murray and Secretary Lidington, to pack up the first friendship betwixt the two Queens; and betwixt the Earl of Murray and Lord Robert; and between the two Secretaries. Albeit he had no great kindness either for my Lord Robert or Secretary Cecil, yet he knew that nothing could be done without them. Among other counsels, he gave me advice to use great familiarity with the Ambassador of Spain, in case I found the Queen his mistress hard to be dealt with; alleging that it would be a great spur to move the Queen of England, to give our Queen greater, and more speedy contentment in her desire, than yet she had done.

The next morning Mr Hatton, and Mr Randolph late agent for the Queen of England in Scotland, came to my lodging, to convoy me to her Majesty, who was, as they said, already in the garden. With them came a servant of my Lord Robert's, with a horse and footmantle of velvet laced with gold for me to ride upon. Which servant, with the said horse, waited upon me all the time that I remained there.

I found her Majesty walking in an alley. And after I had kissed her hand, and presented my letter of credence, I told her Majesty in French the effect of my commission, as near to the aforesaid instructions as I could; and sometimes being interrupted by her demands, I answered as I judged most pertinent. The reason why I spoke French was, that being but lately come home, I could not speak my own language so promptly as was requisite. Her first demand was concerning the letter that the Queen had written to her with such despiteful language, that she thence conjectured all friendship and familiarity to have been given up: which had made her resolve never to write any more, but another as despiteful which she took out of her pocket to give me to read, she having had it already written to show it me. She told me she had

hitherto delayed to send it, because she thought it too gentle, till she had written another more vehement, for answer to the Queen's angry bill. For my part, I appeared to find such hard interpretation to be made upon the Queen's loving and frank dealing very strange. I told her Majesty, that my mistress could not call to mind, what words they were which had given her such offence. Whereupon she brought forth the Queen's letter, giving it me to read. Which when I had perused, I said I could find therein no offensive word, when I considered the familiarity had formerly been betwixt them: alleging, that albeit her Majesty could speak as good French as any who had not been out of the country, that yet she was out of use of the French court language, which was frank and short, and had frequently two significations, which familiar friends took always in the best part: entreating her Majesty to tear the angry letter, which she thought to have sent in answer. And in revenge of the Queen's, I protested, that I should never let her Majesty know that her true plain meaning had been so misconstrued.

Having tossed some words upon this matter, she being desirous of an honest colour or pretext, she appeared the more readily satisfied in that point. For the fear she had, that friendship and correspondence should altogether break off, our Queen being the first seeker to renew and continue the same, by sending me thither, thereby evidencing that she did not stand upon ceremonies with her elder sister, in my presence then she did rent her angry letter, with promise of such friendly and frank dealing in times coming, as all her good sister's dealings and proceedings should be interpreted to the best.

Thus the old friendship being renewed, she inquired if the Queen had sent any answer to the proposition of marriage made to her by Mr Randolph. I answered,

as I had been instructed, that my mistress thought little or nothing thereof, but expected the meeting of some commissioners upon the Borders, with my Lord of Murray and the Secretary Lidington, to confer and treat upon all such matters of greatest importance, as should be judged to concern the quiet of both the countries and satisfaction of both their Majesties' minds. For seeing your Majesty cannot so soon find the opportunity of meeting betwixt yourselves, so much desired, which in itself is not so expedient until all other jealousies be first removed, and all former doubts cleared by your most trusty and familiar counsellors, the Queen my mistress, as I have said, is minded to send for her part my Lord of Murray and the Secretary Lidington, and expects that your Majesty will send my Lord of Bedford and my Lord Dobert Dudley.

She answered, it appeared that I made but small account of my Lord Robert, seeing that I named the Earl of Bedford before him: but said that ere long she would make him a far greater Earl, and that I should see it done before my returning home. For she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she would have herself married, had she ever minded to have taken a husband. But being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished that the Queen her sister might marry him, as meetest of all other with whom she could find in her heart to declare her second person. For being matched with him, it would best remove out of her mind all fears and suspicions, to be offended by any usurpation before her death. Being assured that he was so loving and trusty, that he would never permit any such thing to be attempted during her time.

And that the Queen my mistress might have the higher esteem of him, I was required to stay till I should see him made Earl of Leicester, and Baron of

Denbigh; which was done at Westminster with great solemnity, the Queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting upon his knees before her with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him, the French Ambassador and I standing by. Then she turned, asking at me, "How I liked him?" I answered, that as he was a worthy servant, so he was happy who had a princess who could discern and reward good service. Yet, says she, you like better of yonder long lad, pointing towards my Lord Darnly, who as nearest prince of the blood, did bear the sword of honour that day before her. My answer was, that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, who more resembled a woman than a man. For he was handsome, beardless and lady-faced. And I had no will that she should think that I like him, or had any eye or dealing that way. Albeit I had a secret charge to deal with my Lady Lenox, to endeavour to procure liberty for him to go to Scotland (where his father was already) under the pretext of seeing the country, and conveying the Earl his father back again to England.

Now I found the Queen of England was determined to treat with my sovereign, first concerning her marriage with the Earl of Leicester, and for that effect she promised to send commissioners unto the Borders. In the meantime I was very favourably and familiarly used. For during nine days that I remained at the Court, it pleased her Majesty to confer with me every day, and sometimes thrice in a day, in the morning, after dinner and after supper. Sometimes she would say, that seeing she could not meet with the Queen her good sister to confer with her familiarly, that she was resolved to open a good part of her inward mind to me, that I might show it again unto the Queen. She told me she was not so much offended with the Queen's angry letter, as that she seemed so far to

disdain the marriage of my Lord of Leicester, which she had caused Mr Randolp to propose to her.

I answered, that it was probable he had let fall something thereof to my Lord of Murray and Lidington, but that he had never proposed the matter directly to herself, and that as well her Majesty, as those who were her most familiar counsellors, could conjecture nothing thereupon, but delays and driving off time concerning the declaring of her to be second person, which would be clearly tried at the meeting of the commissioners above specified. She replied, that the trial and declaration thereof would be hasted forward according to the Queen's good behaviour, and applying herself to follow her pleasure and advice in her marriage. And seeing the matter concerning the said declaration was so weighty, and of so much import, she had ordered some of the best lawyers in England, diligently to search out who had the best right; and she heartily wished it might be found to be her dear sister, rather than any other. I said, I was very confident that her Majesty was ingenuous in that declaration, and that my mistress expected no other at her hand: but I lamented, that even the wisest princes did not sufficiently pry into the hidden designs of their familiar counsellors and servants, except it were such an honourable and rare prince as Henry VIII her Majesty's father of happy memory, who of his own head was determined to declare his sister's son, King James V heir apparent to the crown of England, failing heirs to be gotten of his own body, while her Majesty was not yet born, but only her sister Queen Mary, and that for the earnest desire he had to unite this whole island. She said she was glad he did it not. I said, that then he had but one daughter, and expected no more children, and yet he had not so many suspicions in his head as your Majesty hath, though you are certainly convinced you will never have any children,

seeing your Majesty declares yourself resolved to die a virgin. Yes, says she, I am resolved never to marry, if I be not thereto necessitated by the Queen my sister's harsh behaviour toward me. I know the truth of that, madam, said I; you need not tell it me. Your Majesty thinks, if you were married, you would be but Queen of England; and now you are both King and Queen. I know your spirit cannot endure a commander.

She appeared to be so affectionate to the Queen her good sister, that she expressed a great desire to see her. And because their so much, by her, desired meeting could not be so hastily brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her Majesty's picture. She took me to her bed-chamber, and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapt within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the first that she took up was written, " My Lord's picture." I held the candle, and pressed to see that picture so named. She appeared loath to let me see it; yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and found it to be the Earl of Leicester's picture. I desired that I might have it to carry home to my Queen; which she refused, alleging that she had but that one picture of his. I said, your Majesty hath here the original; for I perceived him at the farthest part of the chamber, speaking with Secretary Cecil. Then she took out the Queen's picture, and kissed it; and I adventured to kiss her hand, for the great love therein evidenced to my mistress. She showed me also a fair ruby, as great as a tennis-ball. I desired that she would either send it, or my Lord Leicester's picture, as a token unto the Queen. She said, if the Queen would follow her counsel, that she would in process of time get all she had; that in the meantime she was resolved in a token to send her with me a fair diamond.

It was at this time late after supper; she appointed

me to be with her the next morning by eight of the clock, at which time she used to walk in her garden. She inquired several things of me relating to this kingdom, and other countries wherein I had travelled. She caused me to dine with her dame of honour, my Lady Strafford (an honourable and godly lady, who had been at Geneva banished during the reign of Queen Mary) that I might be always near her, that she might confer with me. I had formerly been acquainted with my Lady Strafford, as she passed through France. I had good intelligence from her and my Lady Throckmorton.

At divers meetings we had divers purposes. The Queen my mistress had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise I should be wearied, she being well informed of that Queen's natural temper. Therefore, in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland and Italy, the busking of the women was not forgot, and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The Queen said she had clothes of every sort; which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian, and so forth. She asked me which of them became her best. I answered, In my judgment, the Italian dress: which answer I found pleased her well; for she delighted to show her golden coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally. She desired to know of me, what colour of hair was reputed best; and whether my Queen's hair or hers was best; and which of the two was fairest. I answered, The fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I judged fairest. I said, She was the fairest Queen in England, and mine the fairest Queen

in Scotland. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered, They were both the fairest ladies in their countries; that her Majesty was whiter, but my Queen was very lovely. She inquired which of them was of highest stature. I said, My Queen. Then, saith she, she is too high; for I myself am neither too high nor too low. Then she asked what kind of exercises she used. I answered, That when I received my dispatch, the Queen was lately come from the Highland hunting: that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories: that sometimes she recreated herself in playing upon the lute and virginals. She asked if she played well. I said, reasonably for a Queen.

That same day after dinner my Lord of Hunsdean[1] drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some music (but he said that he durst not avow it) where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened a while, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately, so soon as she turned her about and saw me. She appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand; alleging she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked how I came there. I answered, As I was walking with my Lord of Hunsdean, as we passed by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how; excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the Court of France, where such freedom was allowed; declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her Majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me for so great an offence. Then she sat down

[1] Hunsdon.

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low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her; but with her own hand she gave me a cushion, to lay under my knee; which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She then called for my Lady Strafford out of the next chamber; for the Queen was alone. She inquired whether my Queen or she played best. In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise. She said my French was good, and asked if I could speak Italian; which she spoke reasonably well. I told her Majesty I had no time to learn the language perfectly, not having been above two months in Italy. Then she spake to me in Dutch, which was not good; and would know what kind of books I most delighted in, whether theology, history, or love matters. I said, I liked well of all the sorts. Here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch. She said I was weary sooner of her company, than she was of mine. I told her Majesty, that though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my mistress her affairs called me home: yet I was stayed two days longer, till I might see her dance, as I was afterward informed. Which being over, she inquired of me, whether she or my Queen danced best. I answered, The Queen danced not so high, and disposedly as she did.

Then again she wished, that she might see the Queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly to Scotland by post, clothed like a page; that under this disguise she might see the Queen, as James V had gone in disguise to France with his own Ambassador, to see the Duke of Vendome's sister, who should have been his wife: telling her, that her chamber might be kept in her absence, as though she were sick: that none needed to be privy thereto, except my Lady Strafford, and one of the grooms of her chamber. She appeared to like that kind of language, only answered it with a sigh, saying, Alas! if I might do it thus. She used all the means

she could to oblige me to persuade the Queen of the great love she did bear unto her, and that she was fully minded to put away all jealousies and suspicions, and in times coming to entertain a stricter friendship than formerly. She promised that my dispatch should be delivered to me very shortly at London, by Secretary Cecil: for now she was at Hampton-Court, where she gave me my answer by mouth herself, and her Secretary by writing.

The next day my Lord of Leicester desired me to go down the river in his barge with him to London. He had in his company Sir Henry Sidney Deputy of Ireland. By the way my lord entered familiarly into discourse with me, alleging that he was well acquainted with my Lord of Murray, Lidington, and my brother Sir Robert; and that he was by report so well acquainted with me, that he durst, upon the character he had heard of me, desire to know what the Queen my mistress thought of him, and the marriage that Mr Randolph had proposed. Whereunto I answered very coldly, as I had been by my Queen commanded. Then he began to purge himself of so proud a pretence, as to marry so great a Queen, declaring he did not esteem himself worthy to wipe her shoes; declaring that the invention of that proposition of marriage proceeded from Mr Cecil, his secret enemy. For if I, says he, should have appeared desirous of that marriage, I should have offended both the Queens, and lost their favour. He entreated me to excuse him at her Majesty's hands, and to beg, in his name, that she would not impute that matter to him, but to the malice of his enemies.

Being landed at London, our dinner was prepared by the Earl of Pembroke; who being Great Master, yet humbled himself so far as to serve the said table, as Master of the Household himself. He was a devout friend to my Queen's title of succeeding to the crown of England.

After dinner, I took leave of the French Ambassador, and the Spanish, having received divers advertisements from them. My Lord of Leicester, beside what he had spoke to me, did write to my Lord of Murray to excuse him at the Queen's hands. The day appointed I received my dispatch from Secretary Cecil, together with a letter of credit, and a more ample declaration of the Queen's mind touching the same answers she had made me herself. He gave me also a letter to Secretary Lidington. For, as is above said, Secretary Cecil and Leicester, my Lord of Murray and Secretary Lidington ruled both Queens, and as yet kept good correspondence together.

When I took my leave, Secretary Cecil conveyed me through the close to the outer gate of the palace, where he himself put a fair chain about my neck. My Lady Lenox and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton sent many good advices to the Queen, to be followed according as occasion offered. My Lady Lenox sent also tokens to the Queen, a ring with a fair diamond: she sent an emerald to my Lord her husband, who was yet in Scotland; a diamond to my Lord of Murray, a watch set with diamonds and rubies to the Secretary Lidington; a ring with a ruby to my brother Sir Robert. For she was still in good hope, that her son my Lord Darnly would come better speed concerning the marriage of our Queen, than the Earl of Leicester. She was a very wise and discreet matron, and had many favourers in England for the time.

At my return, I found the Queen's Majesty still at Edinburgh. To whom I declared at large my manner of proceeding with the Queen of England, and gave her Majesty her answers to the special heads of my instructions in writing.

Her Majesty answered to the first, " That whereas the Queen thought the time very long since she received either word or writ from her, whereby she

might understand of her good estate, and had sent me thither to visit her in her behalf; that she thought the time as long, albeit she had conceived some displeasure concerning the angry letter: which was the greater, in respect it appeared that she disdained the offer of the best good she had to give, to wit, the man whom she esteemed as her brother. And whereas she had sent me to visit her, she was more satisfied with my coming, than she would have been with any other, being formerly of her acquaintance, with whom she could the more familiarly declare her inward mind to the Queen my mistress, seeing she could not meet with herself so soon as she desired: as I might declare how familiarly she had conferred with me, acquainting me with all her inward griefs and desires, and how well she was satisfied, and how willing to continue all good offices of amity; and that she would for that effect send shortly down to the border commissioners who were named by herself, to meet with my Lord of Murray and Lidington.

" As for the Parliament, it was yet in doubt whether it held or not. If it held, the Queen should get no hurt in her right, neither directly nor indirectly, but she should be forewarned in due time."

Then I showed her Majesty at length of all other purposes that fell out occasionally betwixt that Queen and me, together with the opinions and advertisements of divers of her friends in England; as well Catholics as Protestants. I gave her, at the desire of the Spanish Ambassador, the intimation of his King's good-will towards her.

Her Majesty was very glad that matters were brought again to this pass between her and the Queen of England, having thereby occasion of getting intelligence from a great number of noblemen, and others her friends in England. For she was also afraid, that

the blame of the discord would have been laid upon her, if it had continued.

After that her Majesty had at great length understood all my management and proceedings in England, she inquired whether I thought that Queen meant truly toward her inwardly in her heart, as she appeared to do outwardly in her speech. I answered freely, that in my judgment, there was neither plain dealing, nor upright meaning; but great dissimulation, emulation and fear, lest her princely qualities should over soon chase her from the Kingdom, as having already hindered her marriage with the Archduke Charles of Austria. It appeared likewise to me, by her offering unto her, with great appearing earnestness, my Lord of Leicester, whom I knew at that time she could not want.

Shortly after my Lords of Murray and Bedford met near Berwick to treat concerning the marriage with Leicester, with slenderer offers and less effectual dealing than was expected. But the said Earl of Leicester had written such discreet and wise letters unto my Lord of Murray for his excuses, that the Queen appeared to have so good liking to him, as the Queen of England began to suspect that the said marriage might take effect. Her apprehensions of this occasioned the Lord Darnly's getting more readily licence to come to Scotland, in hope that he being a handsome lusty youth, should rather prevail, being present, than Leicester who was absent. Which licence was procured by the means of the Secretary Cecil, not that he was minded that any of the marriages should take effect, but with such shifts to hold the Queen unmarried so long as he could. For he persuaded himself, that my Lord Darnly durst not proceed in the marriage without consent of the Queen of England first obtained to the said marriage, his land lying in England, and his mother remaining there. So that he thought it lay in the Queen his mistress her own hand, to let that marriage go

forward, or to stay the same at her pleasure. And in case my Lord Darnly should disobey the Queen of England's command, to return upon her call, he intended to cause forfault him, whereby he should lose all his lands, rights and titles that he had in England.

The Queen's Majesty, as I have said before after her returning out of France to Scotland, behaved herself so princely, honourably and discreetly, that her reputation spread itself in all countries. She was determined, and of herself inclined to continue so unto the end of her life, desiring to entertain none in her company, but such as were of the best conversation, abhorring all vice and vicious persons. In this her resolution she desired me to assist her, by affording her my good counsel, what way was most effectual to ingratiate herself with her subjects: and in case she (being yet young) might forget herself by any unseemly gesture or misbehaviour, that I would warn her thereof, by admonishing her to forbear, and timeously reform the same. Which commission I did at first altogether refuse to accept of, saying, that her virtuous actions, her natural judgment, and the experience she had learned in the court of France, had instructed her so well, and qualified her so abundantly to be an example to all her subjects and servants that she needed none to admonish her. But she would not leave it so, but said she knew she had committed divers errors, upon no ill meaning, only for want of the admonition of loving and concerned friends; because that the greatest part of courtiers commonly flatter princes, to insinuate for their favour, and will not tell them the truth, fearing thereby to disoblige them. Therefore she adjured and commanded me to accept that charge; which I said was a very ruinous commission, begging her Majesty to lay that burden upon her brother my Lord of Murray, and the Secretary Lidington. She answered, she would not take it in so

good part from them, as from me. I said, I was afraid that through process of time it would cause me to lose her favour. She said, it appeared I entertained an ill opinion of her constancy and discretion; which opinion she doubted not but I would alter, after I had undertaken and practised that friendly and familiar charge.

In the meantime she made me privy to all her most urgent affairs, but chiefly to her dealings with any foreign nation. She showed unto me all her letters, those which she received from other princes. She desired me to write in her favour to such princes as I had been acquainted with, and to such foreign counsellors as I knew to be eminent men. In which letters I did not omit to set out her virtues. I used to show to her their returns, which ordinarily gave me an account of the most remarkable occurrences of those countries, to her Majesty's great contentment: for she was of a quick spirit, curious to know and get intelligence of the state of other princes. She was something sad when solitary, and was glad of the company of such as had travelled to other kingdoms.

Now there came here in company with the Ambassador of Savoy, one David Riccio of the country of Piedmont, who was a merry fellow, and a good musician. Her Majesty had three valets of her chamber who sung three parts, and wanted a bass to sing the fourth part. Therefore they told her Majesty of this man, as one fit to make the fourth in concert. Thus he was drawn in to sing sometimes with the rest; and afterward when her French Secretary retired himself to France, this David obtained the said office. And as he thereby entered in greater credit, so he had not the prudence how to manage the same rightly: for frequently in presence of the nobility, he would be publicly speaking to her, even when there was greatest conventions of the states. Which made him to be much envied and hated, especially when he became so great, that he

presented all signatures to be subscribed by her Majesty: so that some of the nobility would frown upon him; others would shoulder and shoot him by, when they entered the Queen's chamber, and found him always speaking with her. For those who had great actions of law, new infeftments to be taken, or who desired to prevail against their enemies at court, or in law suits before the session, addressed themselves to him, and depended upon him, whereby in short time he became very rich. Yet he wanted not his own fears, therefore he lamented his estate to me, asking one day my counsel how to behave himself.

I told him that strangers were commonly envied, when they meddled too much in the affairs of other countries. He said he being secretary to her Majesty in the French tongue, had occasion thereby to be frequently in her Majesty's company, as her former secretary used to do. I answered again, that it was thought that the greatest part of the affairs of the country passed through his hands, which gave offence to the nobility. I advised him, in their presence to retire from the Queen, giving them place: and that he might desire the Queen to permit him to take that way. I told him for an example, how I had been in so great favour with the Elector Palatine, that he caused me to sit at his own table, and that he used frequently to confer with me in presence of his whole Court; whereat divers of them took great indignation against me: which so soon as I perceived, I requested him to permit me to sit from his own table with the rest of his gentlemen, and no more to confer with me in their presence, but to call me by a page to his chamber, when he had any service to command me: seeing otherwise he would prejudge himself and me, both by giving ground of discontent to his subjects, in too much noticing a stranger, and so expose me to their fury. Which I obtained, and that way my

master was not hated, not I any more envied. I advised him to take the like course, if he was resolved to act as a wise man. Which counsel he said he was resolved to follow; but afterward told me that the Queen would not suffer him, but would needs have him carry himself as formerly. I answered, that I was sorry for the inconveniences that might follow thereupon.

And afterward finding the envy against Riccio still to increase, and that by his ruin, which I did foresee to be inevitable, her Majesty might incur displeasure, and her affairs be prejudged, seeing I clearly perceived that the extraordinary favour she carried to that man, did much alienate the hearts of her own subjects from her: I remembered her Majesty's command lately laid upon me, when she particularly enjoined me, to forewarn her of any circumstance to be observed in her carriage, which I thought could tend to her prejudice. I had before this time taken some such freedom, in desiring her to desist from some things which I knew were dissatisfactory to her subjects; and upon my acquainting her Majesty therewith, she had been pleased to reform them.

The reflection hereupon encouraged me the more cheerfully, in hope of the like success, to forewarn her Majesty of the inconveniences I did clearly foresee would inevitably follow, if she in time did not alter her carriage to Riccio. Therefore upon the first opportunity, I took occasion to enter with her Majesty upon this discourse, in most humble manner representing what I did upon rational considerations conjecture would be the consequences of the too public demonstrations of favour she gave to Riccio a stranger, and one suspected by her subjects to be a pensioner of the Pope. That though they were resolved not to challenge her Majesty's Religion, though contrary to theirs, allowing her liberty of conscience; yet it was

not to be supposed, but the too much owning of Riccio, a known minion of the Pope, would give ground of suspicion, that some design to the prejudice of the established Religion would be by him contrived. That to prevent this, her subjects would find themselves obliged to use all their endeavours to ruin a man, and a stranger from whom they could expect no good office, as being a known enemy to their Religion: for the nobility would certainly take it as an high affront upon them, to see her so visibly more countenance a stranger than them her native subjects. I told her Majesty very freely what advice I had given to Riccio. She answered me, that he meddled no further than in her French writings and affairs, as her other French Secretary had done formerly. And that whoever found fault therewith, she would not be so far restrained, but that she might dispense her favours to such as she pleased.

I remembered her Majesty what displeasure had been procured to her, by the rash misbehaviour of a French gentleman called Chattellier,[1] who transported to miscarry himself by her affability, had thereby highly injured her Majesty. I told her Majesty that a grave and comely behaviour toward strangers, not admitting them to too much familiarity, would bring them to a more circumspect and reverend carriage. I told her how necessary it was, that she particularly noticed all her actings, seeing those of her subjects, who were not of her religion, were easily alarmed with anything which could be therein misrepresented. That if their hearts were once lost, there would be great difficulty of regaining that place in their affections, which yet they found her due as their sovereign princess. She thanked me for my continual care evidenced in this free advice, and engaged to take such order in reference thereto as the case required.

[1] Chastelard.

I have already told, how that my Lord Darnly was advised to ask licence to come into Scotland. At his first coming he found the Queen at Wemyss, making her progress through Fife. Her Majesty took very well with him, and said, that he was the properest and best proportioned long man that ever she had seen; for he was of a high stature, long and small, even and straight. He had been from his youth well instructed in all honest and comely exercises. After he had haunted court some time, he proposed marriage to her Majesty, which proposal she at first appeared to disrelish, as that same day she herself told me, and that she had refused a ring which he then offered unto her. I took occasion freely hereupon to speak in his favours, and to convince her Majesty, that no marriage was more her interest than this, seeing it would render her title to the succession to the crown of England unquestionable.

I know not how he came to fall in acquaintance with Riccio, but I found he also was his great friend at the Queen's hand, so that she took ay the longer the better liking of him, and at length determined to marry him. This being made known to the Queen of England, she sent and charged him to return. She also sent her ambassador Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Scotland, to dissuade the Queen from marrying him; and in case the Queen would not follow her advice, to persuade the Lords, and so many as were of the Protestant Religion, to withstand the said marriage, till the said Lord Darnly should subscribe a bond to maintain the Reformed Religion, which he had ever professed in England.

The Queen, again perceiving the Queen of England's earnest opposition to all the marriages that offered unto her, resolved to delay no longer. But my Lord Duke of Chastelherault, my Lords of Argile, Rothes, Murray, Glencairn, and divers others lords and barons with-

stood the said marriage: who after they had made an essay to take the Lord Darnly in the Queen's company at the raid of Baith, and as they alleged, to have sent him to England; failing in this their enterprise, they took them to the fields, to her Majesty's great dissatisfaction and heart-breaking. Her Majesty's forces were sooner ready than theirs, so that she pursued them here and there, whereby they were so straitened that they could never have the opportunity of drawing together. And at length they were compelled to flee unto England for refuge, to her, who by her Ambassadors had promised to hazard her crown in their defence, in case they were driven to any strait because of appearing against the said marriage: though this was expressly denied them, when coming to demand help. For when they sent up my Lord of Murray to that Queen, the rest abiding at Newcastle, he could obtain nothing but disdain and scorn; till at length he and the Abbot of Kilwinning, his companion in that message, were persuaded to come and confess unto the Queen upon their knees, and that in presence of the Ambassadors of France and Spain, that her Majesty had never moved them to that opposition and resistance against their Queen's marriage. For this she had desired, to satisfy the said Ambassadors, who both alleged in their masters' names, that she had been the cause of the said rebellion, and that her only delight was to stir up dissension among her neighbours. Yet by this cunning she overcame them: for she handled the matter so subtly, and the other two so cowardly, in granting her desire contrary to what was truth, being put in hopes of relief if they would so far comply with what was judged her interest for the time, that she triumphed over the said Ambassadors for their false allegiance. But unto my Lord of Murray and his neighbour she said, Now you have told the truth; for neither did I, nor any in my name stir you up

against your Queen: for your abominable treason may serve for example to my own subjects to rebel against me. Therefore get you out of my presence; you are but unworthy traitors.

This was all the reward they procured at her hands: and had not some of the Protestants in her kingdom, who favoured them upon account of their Religion, interposed what they could with her, they would not have been permitted, during their banishment, to have remained within her dominions; although a little before she had promised to give them what assistance they demanded to the uttermost of her power, upon condition that they would please her so far, as to sit down upon their knees in presence of the said Ambassadors, and make the foresaid false confession. And as for secret help, she gave them none; only they obtained a small contribution among some of their own religion there, who were their friends, which was distributed among them at Newcastle, where they remained comfortless, and in great trouble.

The Queen, finding the shifts the Court of England made to delay her marriage with any man proposed, hasted forward her marriage with my Lord Darnly; which was solemnised in the palace of Holy-rood-house, within the Queen's chapel, at the mass; wherein Riccio was no small instrument. Scotland being by this time almost wholly of the Reformed Religion, took a dislike of the King because of this, he having formerly professed the Reformed Religion in England. Hence were occasioned rumours, that there was some design on foot for planting again in Scotland the Roman Catholic Religion, there being ground of suspicion that Riccio was a pensioner of the Pope's. And at this same time the Pope sent 8000 crowns in gold to be delivered to our Queen, which augmented these suspicions. But the ship wherein the said gold was, did shipwreck upon the coast of England, within

the Earl of Northumberland's bounds; who alleged the whole to appertain to him by just law, which he caused his advocate to read unto me (when I was directed to him for the demanding restitution of the said sum) in the old Norman language; which neither he nor I understood well, it was so corrupt. But all my entreaties were ineffectual, he altogether refusing to give any part thereof to the Queen, albeit he was himself a Catholic, and otherwise professed secretly to be her friend.

After that the Queen's Majesty had married my Lord Darnly, she did him great honour herself, and desired every one who expected her favour to do the like, and to wait upon him: so that for a little time he was well accompanied; and such as sought favour by him sped best in their suits. But, because he had married without advice of the Queen of England, my Lady Lenox his mother was committed to the Tower of London, where she was kept for a long time.

All this time I attended still upon the Queen, but with less familiarity than formerly. And seeing my service for the time no more needful, humbly begged liberty of the Queen to return to France, and other places, where I had spent the greatest part of my life. But this her Majesty absolutely refused to grant, expressing some desire to know what could move me to desert her service. I said the time was full of suspicions, and that I was confident I could do her more service abroad than at home, as matters had fallen out. She answered, that she knew I could do her more service at home, than any servant she had, if I pleased; but that I had left off using my wonted freedom with her, in giving her my opinion of her proceedings. I told her Majesty, I was somewhat apprehensive that my opinions would be unpleasant to her. But she affirmed the contrary, telling me that I had enemies, who used their endeavours to imprint a bad character

of me in the King, as if I had been a favourer of the Earl of Murray: which she had put out of the King's head, as being better acquainted with my nature and conditions; saying, that she knew well that I had a liking to the Earl of Murray, but not to his actings of taking up arms against her: that she was assured that I loved her ten times better than him. She said moreover, that if any did endeavour to misrepresent her as much to me, that she wished I should give them no more credit against her, than she had done or should do against me. She advised me to wait upon the King, who was but young, and give him my best counsel, as I had formerly done to her, which might help him to shun many inconveniences. And she gave me her hand, that she would take all in good part whatever I did speak, as proceeding from a loving and faithful servant; desiring me also to befriend Riccio, who was hated without a cause.

The King also told me who they were who had spoken to him in my prejudice; and said they were known to be such common liars, as their tongue was no slander. By these and such like means, the Queen's Majesty obliged me more and more to be careful to be serviceable to her. And I judged myself engaged, as the greatest demonstration I could give of my being faithful to her, to give her my opinion what use she might make for her own advantage of the harsh usage the Earl of Murray and his associates had received in England; how uncourteously that Queen had used them before the French and Spanish Ambassadors, she having broken all her fair promises unto them.

First I told her Majesty, that ever since her return to her own country, she had been endeavouring to get her nobility and whole subjects entirely affected to take part with her in all actions whatsoever, and chiefly against England, in case she might have occasion of employing them; though she could never

hitherto obtain her desire, because of the secret bond and promise was made among them, when the English army was at the siege of Leith, helping to put the Frenchmen out of Scotland. Now, said I, Madam, the occasion is offered, whereby your Majesty may bring your desired intention to pass, if you could find in your heart either to pardon the Earl of Murray and his associates, or at least to prolong the Parliament wherein they are to be forfaulted, until your Majesty may duly advise and see, whether it will be more your interest to forfault them, or give them ground of hope of obtaining your pardon, according to their carriage for the future. To this she answered, Now, when they could do no better, they sought her; but when she sought their concurrence, such as subjects owe to their native prince, they would not hear her: no more would she now notice their suits.

I said, whensoever they were to make their suits, it should not be by me; but this I propose of myself to your Majesty, who can choose the best, and leave the worst in all accidents; seeing it is no little matter to gain the whole hearts of all your subjects, and also of a good number in England who favour them and their religion, who would admire such princely virtues. When they should see so pregnant a proof of your Majesty's being able to master your own passions and affections, all will then conclude that you were most worthy to reign over kingdoms, finding you so ready to forgive, and so loath to use vengeance, especially against subjects already vanquished, and not worthy of your wrath. If your Majesty consider seriously, clemency at such a time will be found most convenient, and that part of justice called equity more profitable than rigour: for extremity frequently brings on desperate enterprises.

At this her Majesty entered into choler, saying, I defy them; what can they do, or what dare they do?

Madam, said I, with your Majesty's pardon, my proposition is, in obedience to your own commandment, to show you my opinion at all times for the weal of your affairs. Then she said she thanked me, granting that it was a good advice, and necessary to be done, if she could in so far command herself; but that yet she could not find in her heart to have to do with any of them upon divers considerations: entreating me nevertheless to continue giving her my advice at all occasions; for albeit she did not follow this, she might perchance do better at another time. I answered, that it was only the consideration of her interest that made me appear so concerned: many noblemen being banished, and so near as Newcastle, having many other noblemen at home of their kindred and friends, so malcontent as I knew them to be for the time, made me fear some attempt towards an alteration. For I told her, I had heard dark speeches, that we should hear news ere the Parliament was ended. Her Majesty answered, that she likewise wanted not advertisements of the like rumours; but that our countrymen were talkative. I used the same freedom with Riccio; for then he and I were under great friendship. But he evidenced a disdain at all danger, and despised counsel; so that I was compelled to say, I feared over-late repentance.

You have heard that Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was one of the two English Ambassadors who were sent hither to stay the marriage, and to make many promises in his mistress's name to so many as would resist the same; which promises were afterward denied by the Queen of England, and by Mr Randolph. But Sir Nicholas Throckmorton stood neither in awe of Queen or council, to declare the verity, that he had made such promises to them in her name; whereof the counsellors and craftiest courtiers thought strange, and were resolving to punish him for avowing the

same promise to be made in his mistress's name, had not he wisely and circumspectly obtained an act of council for his warrant, which he offered to produce. And the said Sir Nicholas was so angry that he had been made an instrument to deceive the Scots banished Lords, that he advised them to sue humbly for pardon at their own Queen's hand, and to engage never again to offend her, for satisfaction of any prince alive: and because as they were then stated they had no interest, he penned a persuasive letter, and sent unto her Majesty, as followeth:—

"Your Majesty hath in England many friends of all degrees who favour your title; but for divers respects. Some for very conscience' sake, being persuaded, that in law your right is best: some for the good opinion they have conceived, by the honourable report they have heard, of your virtues and liberality; the consideration whereof engageth them to esteem your Majesty most worthy to govern: some for factions, who favour your religion: some for the ill-will they bear to your competitor, seeing their own danger if Lady Katharine should come in that place.

"Of these some are Papists, some Protestants; and yet however they differ among themselves in Religion or other particulars, they are both of one mind for the advancement of your title. Your Majesty hath also divers enemies, for various respects, not unlike to the other, whose study hath always been and will be, unless they be made friends, to hinder anything that may tend to your advantage. In one point all concur, both friends and enemies, yea the whole people, that they are most desirous to have the succession of the crown declared and assured, that they may be at a certainty; only the Queen herself is of a contrary opinion, and would be glad the matter should always be in suspense.

"Your un-friends have done what they could, to take the advantage of the time, to your prejudice; and for that end pressed the holding of the Parliament, which was before continued till October last: knowing assuredly, that if the Parliament held, the succession of the crown would be called in question. And they thought the time served well for their purpose, when there was division and trouble in your own realm, and no good understanding betwixt you and the Queen of England. And her subjects your friends, for eschewing that inconvenience, and winning of time to give your Majesty place to work, and remove all impediments so far as wisdom may, have found the means to drive it off till the next spring. Now their advice is, that in the meantime your Majesty endeavour by wisdom to assure yourself of the whole votes, or at least of the best and most considerable of the Parliament, whenever the matter shall be brought in question. Which may be done, by retaining the hearts of those who have gained already, recovering of those who are brangled, winning of the neutrals, and so many of your adversaries as may be gained: for it is not to be supposed that all can be won, who are already so far addicted to the contrary faction; but when the cause of their aversion is removed, the effect will cease.

"Generally your Majesty will do well to forbear any act that will offend the whole people, and use such means as will render you most acceptable to them. Strangers are universally suspected to the whole people; against which your Majesty hath in your marriage wisely provided, by abstaining to match with a foreign prince. So do they advise your Majesty to abstain from any league or confederacy with any foreign prince that may offend England, till you have first essayed what you can purchase by the benevolence of the born subjects thereof. Not that they would desire your Majesty to forfeit your friendship with France and

Spain; but rather that you should wisely entertain them both to remain at your devotion, in case afterward you have need of their favour. Nevertheless it is their wish, that the same may rather remain in general terms, as heretofore, than that you proceed to any special act which may offend England, which you cannot with honour bring back again when you would. As many of our adversaries as are addicted to the contrary faction for hatred of your Religion, may be gained when they see your Majesty continue in the temperance and moderation you have hitherto used within your own realm in matters of Religion, without innovation or alteration. As many as by misreports have been carried to the contrary faction, may by true report be brought back again, when they shall hear of your clemency used towards your own subjects; which virtue in princes, of all others, most allures the hearts of people to favour even their common enemies. As many as can deal warily and discreetly with your friends of both the religions, and are only addicted for conscience' sake to my Lady Katharine,[1] being persuaded of the preference of your title in law, may be gained to your Majesty by contrary persuasions, and by adducing of such reasons and arguments as may be alleged for proof of your good cause, whereof there are abundance to be had. Some your Majesty will find in England, who will hazard as far as they dare to serve your turn in this behalf. But because it is so dangerous to men to deal in, and may endanger lives and lands if they be seen earnest meddlers, travelling in that point so as would be necessary, it will require such instruments of your own when time comes, who may boldly speak without danger, and with whom the subjects of England dare freely communicate their minds, and enter into conference. If any be afraid of your Majesty, thinking that you have an ill opinion of them, the assurance by a trusty

[1] Katherine Grey, Countess of Pembroke.

minister of your goodwill, whom they may credit, will quickly put them out of doubt, and make them favourable enough. They who are constantly yours, are easily retained at your devotion. Those who heretofore have borne any favour, and by the late occurrences are any ways brangled, will be brought home again, when they shall see your Majesty, now when it is fallen in your hands to use rigour or mercy as you please, rather incline to the most plausible part, in showing your magnanimity, when you have brought your subjects to submission and gentleness, as the good pastor to reduce his sheep that were gone astray, home again to the fold. Those who are yet neutrals, by the same means and true information of your interest by law, may all be won to your side. This done, when the matter comes in question, your friends will earnestly press your interest at this Parliament, and you will without controversy bear it away.

"This device, in so far as concerns your reconciliation with your subjects, is not a fetch for their favour, but is thought expedient for your service by many who have no favour for them, and are different from them in Religion. For it will bring the Queen of England greatly to favour you, when she shall see such an union in your own kingdom, of the head and whole members together. She will not know how to disturb your Majesty's estate, especially when the reconciliation takes effect in the hearts of the subjects in England, who will think themselves in an happy condition, if they should come under the government of so benign a princess, who can so readily forgive great offences. For albeit it must be acknowledged, that my Lord of Murray hath by his inconsiderate carriage given your Majesty great ground of offence, yet it is hard to persuade the Protestants, that your quarrel against him hath any other foundation, than that he differs from you in religion. Upon this ground

they find themselves engaged to espouse his quarrel. If then they perceived your Majesty graciously inclined to take him again into favour, and forgive what is bypast, the Protestants in England would doubtless declare themselves more affectionate to your interest, when they shall see more of their own Religion so clemently handled. And that your Majesty may have experience, that it is your advancement your friends would by this means procure, and not the advantage of those with whom your Majesty is offended, a middle way may be followed, as is frequently used in such like cases, where not only the multitude is spared, but the chief authors are preserved. It may please your Majesty to cause a letter to be penned in good terms and form, and publish the same by proclamation, declaring the just cause of your anger against all of them; and that yet, for declaring your own good nature above their deservings, you are content to remit the whole, except such principals as you please to reserve and except by name from the general pardon: and that with whom you will not take such severe order as you might in law, till you have further trial and experience of their penitence. The persons so to be nominated and excepted shall depart out of England, to what country pleaseth your Majesty, there to remain during your pleasure. In this meantime, if your Majesty find that this benign usage of yours shall produce such fruit as is here spoken, your Majesty may further extend your favour, as you find convenient and profitable for yourself. For your Majesty hath still the crimes lying above their heads. In the meantime, all who favour them in England will plead in their cause with your Majesty, so far as their power extends, as if they were agents for your Majesty. They will in no ways, if they can eschew it, be again in the Queen of England's debt, neither by obtaining of any favour at your hand by her intervention, nor yet for

any support in the time of their banishment. But rather it may please your Majesty, that their charges be allowed them off their own lands. By following this advice, which in no ways can be prejudicial to your Majesty, but will much conduce for your interest, you may recover the greatest part of the bishops of England; many of the greatest nobility and gentlemen, who were yet neutral."

Their names were declared to her Majesty in cypher, by whose means he alleged her Majesty should obtain so great an interest in England, that albeit that Queen would appear against her, she needed not to care. For in sending but 1000 men of her own, out of four parts of England a sufficient number should join with them, by whose forces, without any strangers, her Majesty should obtain the thing which is wrongfully refused and retained.

When her Majesty had seriously pondered this discourse, it had great influence upon her, to move her to follow the desire thereof, as well for the good opinion she had of him who sent it, as being of her own nature more inclined to mercy than rigour; she being also wise, and being convinced that it tended to the advancement of her affairs in England. She was therefore fully resolved to have followed the advice thereof, and to prolong the Parliament which had been called to forfault the lords who had fled. Riccio appeared also to have been gained for counselling her hereto. My Lord Murray had sued to him very earnestly, and more humbly than could have been believed, with the present of a fair diamond enclosed within a letter, full of repentance and fair promises, from that time forth to be his friend and protector. Which the said Riccio granted to do with the better will, that he perceived the King to bear him little goodwill, and to frown upon him.

Following this advice and advertisement given by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the Queen's Majesty sent my brother Sir Robert Melville, to remain her Ambassador in ordinary at the Court of England, to be ready at all occasions in case anything were treated at the parliament, concerning the succession, and to pursue the design laid down by Sir Nicholas and her other friends in England.

In this meantime, there was a French gentleman sent home here, called Monsieur de Villamonte, with a commission to treat with the Queen, that in no ways she should show any favour to the Protestant banished Lords; because that all Catholic Princes were banded to root them out of all Europe: which was a device of the Cardinal of Lorrain, lately returned from the Council of Trent. He had caused the King of France to write earnestly to that effect. Which unhappy message occasioned divers tragical accidents. For the Queen was loath to offend her friends in France of the house of Guise, albeit she would have done little at that time by her own pleasure to satisfy the King of France, who was but young and only guided by his mother, whom she had no good cause to like well of. But Riccio was thought also not to think fit to offend so many Catholic Princes confederated, and especially the Pope with whom he had secret intelligence. Hereby the Queen was again induced to hold the Parliament to forfault the banished Lords, against her own intention and her former deliberation.

Now there were a number of Lords at home, friends to the Lords who were banished, as the Earl of Morton, the Lord Ruthven, the Lord Lindsay, and divers other gentlemen who favoured them only for their Religion. Some of them were discontent that their friends should be forfaulted; others had special reasons inducing them to fear the sitting of that Parliament. Especially the Earl of Morton and his dependers feared a re-

vocation that was alleged to be made at the said Parliament, to bring back again to the crown divers great dispositions given out during the Queen's minority, and some benefices which had been taken by noblemen at their own hands during the civil wars under pretext of Religion. These and such considerations moved them to consult together how to get the Parliament stayed, and to make a change at Court. The Earl of Morton had a crafty head, and had a cousin called George Douglas, the natural son to the Earl of Angus, who was father to Dame Margaret Douglas Countess of Lenox, the King's mother. The said George was continually about the King, and by his mother's and brother's means, put in his head such suspicions against Riccio, that the King was prevailed with to give his consent to his slaughter. This the Lords of Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven and others had devised, to become that way masters of the Court, and so to stop the Parliament.

The King was yet very young, and not well acquainted with the nature of this nation. It was supposed also, that the Earl of Lenox knew of the said design. For he had his chamber within the palace, and so had the Earls of Athole, Bothwell and Huntly, who escaped by leaping over a window towards the little garden where the lions were lodged. This vile act was done upon a Saturday at six o'clock at night, when the Queen was at supper in her closet. A number of armed men entered within the court, before the closing of the gates, and took the keys from the porter. One part of them went up through the King's chamber, conducted by the Lord Ruthven and George Douglas; the rest remained without with drawn swords in their hands, crying, A Douglas, A Douglas.

The King was before gone up to the Queen, and was leaning upon her chair, when the Lord Ruthven entered with his helmet upon his head, and George

Douglas and divers others with them, so rudely and irreverently, that the table, candles, meat and dishes were overthrown. Riccio took the Queen about the waist, crying for mercy; but George Douglas plucked out the King's dagger and struck Riccio first with it, leaving it sticking in him. He making great shrieks and cries, was rudely snatched from the Queen, who could not prevail either with threats or entreaties, to save him. But he was forcibly drawn forth of the closet and slain in the outer hall, and her Majesty kept as a captive. That same night the Earl of Athole, the Laird of Tullibardine, and Secretary Lidington, and Sir James Balfour were permitted to retire themselves out of the palace, and were in great fear of their lives.

The next morning being Sunday, I was let forth at the gate, and passing through the outer close, the Queen being looking forth at a window, cried unto me to help her. I drew near, and assured her of all the help that lay in my power. She desired me with all haste to go to the Provost of Edinburgh, and desire him to convene the town to relieve her out of these traitors' hands. But run fast, says she, for they will stay you. As this word was spoken, one Mr Nisbet, master of the household to the Earl of Lenox, was sent with a company to stay me. To whom I gave good words, saying, that I was only going to sermon at St Giles's church. But I went in haste to the Provost, and told him my commission from the Queen. He answered, that he had another commandment from the King; but that he should draw the people to the tolbooth, and see what they would do, though he expected no help from their hands, because the most part of them were so discontent with the present government, that all desired a change. Yet he convened them, though in vain. Which backwardness of theirs I did intimate to her Majesty, by one of her ladies, whom she sent again unto me, to tell me that she supposed my Lord

of Murray and his associates, who were yet banished, remaining at Newcastle, would be sent for by those who were about her: willing me at his coming to persuade him not to join with those who had so highly affronted her, but to hold himself free, and be her friend in this strait; which doing should be his great advantage, and purchase her love and favour for ever. Which commission I did not fail to execute at his coming upon Monday; but he was more moved at his meeting with her Majesty, who embraced and kissed him, alleging that if he had been at home, he would not have suffered her to have been so uncourteously handled. Which so much moved him, that the tears run from his eyes. He knew sufficiently well that it was not for his cause, but for their own particular ends, that the greatest part who had made that enterprise had therein engaged; which made him the less concerned in them. Yet he and his company resolved to keep the day, against which they were summoned to the Parliament.

In the meantime, the King repented himself of his accession to that affair, whereupon her Majesty took occasion to persuade him to abandon those Lords, who had committed so odious a crime, as to hazard her life, together with his child which was in her belly. That nevertheless she was resolved to forgive them, and give them what security thereupon they would demand. The Lords seeing the King drawn from them, and my Lord of Murray not so frank for them as they expected, were necessitated to do the next best, and consented that a pacification should be penned, which was divers times written over, to put in and out certain heads and clauses, to drive time until the writing might appear plausible. Her Majesty caused the King to advise them, to discharge the guard that kept her, that so the security might be subscribed she being at liberty; seeing otherwise it would not avail

them in law, if there were the least appearance of restraint upon her, during the time thereof.

So upon Tuesday they went all to their rest; but the Queen, King, Traquair and Arthur Areskine,[1] Master of the Horse for the time, went out of Holyrood-house at midnight toward the castle of Dunbar, and left word with one of her ladies to me, that I should be earnest to keep the Earl of Murray from joining with the other Lords. Who the next morning found themselves greatly disappointed, being left without any appearance of a pacification. In the meantime, I used my endeavours very effectually to keep my Lord Murray from joining with the late offenders. I engaged to him, that in so doing, I should procure a pardon to him and all his followers. They on this manner being destitute of all assisters, were compelled to flee unto England to Newcastle, where in a manner they might find the other Lords' nests yet warm.

A few days before my Lord Duke, my Lords of Argile, Glencairn, and Rothes had obtained their pardons: for they were divided during their banishment, and her Majesty found it not her interest to have so many Lords against her. She had also now again endeavoured to draw the Earl of Murray from the Earl of Morton and his accomplices, because he had for the time a great friendship and many dependers, that she might be the more easily revenged upon that most detestable deed of murdering her servant in her presence; for she being big with child, it appeared to be done to destroy both her and her child. For they might have killed the said Riccio in any other part, at any time they pleased. My Lord Murray and his dependants desired me to carry their humble thanks unto her Majesty, and to signify unto her, how willingly they acquiesced to her Majesty's desire, and how they

[1] Erskine.

had discharged themselves to such as had committed that vile act: and that they promised her Majesty never any more to have to do with them, or intercede for them.

I rencountered her Majesty coming from Dunbar to Haddington, and was very favourably received with great thanks for my care of her honour and welfare. That night in Haddington she subscribed divers remissions for my Lord Murray and his dependers, lamenting unto me the King's folly, ingratitude and misbehaviour. I excused the same the best I could, imputing it to his youth, which occasioned him easily to be led away by pernicious counsel, laying the blame upon George Douglas and other bad counsellors; praying her Majesty for many necessary considerations, to remove out of her mind any prejudice against him, seeing that she had chosen him herself against the opinion of many of her subjects. But I could perceive nothing from that day forth, but great grudges that she entertained in her heart.

That night in Haddington, the King inquired of me, if the Lord of Murray had written to him. I answered, that his letter to the Queen was written in haste, and that he esteemed the Queen and him but one. He said, he might have also written to me. Then he inquired what was become of Morton, Ruthven and the rest of that company. I told him I believed they were fled, but I knew not whither. As they have brewed, says he, so let them drink. It appeared to me that he was troubled he had deserted them, finding the Queen's favour but cold. The next day they came to Edinburgh and lodged within the Castle, where some were apprehended and executed, who had been in the Court of the Palace, and had kept the gates that night wherein Riccio was slain.

Her Majesty was now far gone with child, and went to Stirling intending to lie in there. Thither the

King followed her, and from that to Alloa. At length she came back to the castle of Edinburgh. It was thought that she fled from the King's company. I travelled earnestly to help matters betwixt them, and was therein so importunate, that I was thought troublesome; so that her Majesty desired my Lord of Murray to reprove me, and charge me not to be any more familiar with the King: who went up and down all alone, seeing few durst bear him company. He was misliked by the Queen, and by all such as secretly favoured the late banished Lords; so that it was a great pity to see that good young prince cast off, who failed rather for want of good counsel and experience, than from any bad inclinations. It appeared to be fatal to him, to like better of flatterers and ill company than plain speakers and good men: which hath been the wreck of many princes, who by frequenting good company would have proved gallant men.

About this time the Queen of England was taken with a great fever, that none believed she could live: all that kingdom was thereby in great perplexity. But a strange thing is to be marked, that two contrary factions there had both determined, unknown to other, to send for our Queen, and set the crown of England upon her head. My brother Sir Robert Melville was then Ambassador there resident, and I served in place of Secretary here at home, because Secretary Lidington was absent under some suspicion. He sent home continual advertisements how to proceed, and I again returned the answers at her Majesty's direction.

Now began the Earl of Bothwell to be in great favour, to the great dissatisfaction of many. He and the Earl of Huntly and the Bishop of Ross, envied the favour that the Queen showed unto the Earl of Murray; for they were upon contrary courses. The Queen on the other hand knew how generally he was well liked of both in England and Scotland, and that

she would be the better liked of in both kingdoms that she showed favour to him. And as she resolved to follow the former advice and information sent her by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, so she forgat not the late help he had made her at his home-coming. These two Earls, with the foresaid Bishop, took occasion, when the time of her Majesty's delivery drew near, to persuade her to imprison my Lord of Murray, to remain no longer than she should be delivered; alleging that they were assuredly advertised, that he and his dependers were resolved to bring in the banished Lords, even at the very time of her child-bearing: for they thought, if once he were warded, they should find devices enough to cause him be kept and disgraced, especially when he should be absent and not have opportunity of answering and resisting their calumnies. Whereof her Majesty gave me an account, desiring me to mind her of their secret designs against Murray, without any just cause, flowing only from their own hatred, who had devised his ruin.

The Earl of Morton was now in a hard condition. Though many of the Barons of Lothian were his friends, they could be little steadable to him; among the rest, the Laird of Elphinston, my brother-in-law, whose mother was a Douglas of the house of Whittengham.[1] Upon account of this friendship, the Earl of Morton caused to write unto my sister the Lady Elphinston, desiring her to persuade me to write in his favours to the Elector Palatine, and other princes of my acquaintance in Germany, to suffer him to live in their country. For my brother, by her Majesty's direction, pressed the Queen of England to put them forth of her kingdom: and they durst not go to France, where the Queen had so many friends. This I did show unto her Majesty, that she might be the more confirmed how groundless that report was, made by the aforesaid

[1] Whittinghame.

Lords against Murray: wherewith she appeared well satisfied, resolving to continue her kindness for my Lord Murray; but that withal she charged me not to write in favours of Morton.

In the meantime, Mr Henry Killegrew was sent hither Ambassador from the Queen of England, who was in great suspicion of her estate, finding so many of her subjects favourers of our Queen. The said Ambassador complained against one Mr Ruxbie, who was harboured in Scotland, being a rebel and a papist; declaring how that the Queen his mistress had commanded Morton and his complices forth of her country: which was done by open proclamation, to please the Queen and her Ambassador, who cried out continually for her suffering them to abide so long in England; yet, as we afterward understood, they were secretly overlooked, upon condition that they would keep themselves quiet. Mr Killegrew alleged also, that the Queen's Majesty had been practising with Oneel in Ireland, who had his Ambassador presently in Edinburgh, in company of the Earl of Argile. And, thirdly, he complained of some disorders upon the borders made by Scottishmen. But the principal pretext of his commission was, to comfort the Queen over her late troubles, to congratulate her freedom, and good success over her wicked and rebellious subjects.

It may appear sufficiently by that Queen's former proceedings, that all the sisterly familiarity was ceased, and in place thereof nothing but jealousies, suspicions and hatred: and yet they kept an outward correspondence, for keeping up neighbourhood and intelligence. The Scots Ambassador for the time in England had so good hap, that his credit was great: for he was esteemed sure and secret: which caused a great number of the nobility, Protestants and Papists, to communicate their inward minds and secretest intentions unto him. Mr

Randolph had not the like credit in Scotland, but only with some of the simplest sort of the ministers. For this Ruxbie was sent in hither to appear to be a zealous favourer of her Majesty's right and title to the Crown of England. He was to endeavour to speak with the Queen, and to take an occasion of informing her Majesty of the great friendship divers of the Catholics had for her, who durst not deal with the Scots Ambassador, being a Protestant; but that he would deal himself betwixt her Majesty and them. All this was to essay what he could draw out of her Majesty, to give advertisement thereof to Secretary Cecil. He addressed himself unto the Queen's Majesty by the Bishop of Ross, who was a Catholic; the said Bishop desiring her Majesty to be secret. What he learned for the time, I cannot tell; but he did write sundry intelligences unto the Secretary Cecil, which did prejudice. But this fine contrivance was not so secretly kept but my brother Sir Robert had knowledge thereof, and also of a letter that the Secretary Cecil wrote again unto Scotland to the said Mr Ruxbie, promising to see him rewarded, and desiring him to continue in his diligence. Of all which my brother, by his good intelligence, was so well advertised, that in due time he gave her Majesty and me information thereof.

He gave his advice, how to carry for the future in that affair: so that when Mr Killegrew made his complaint upon the receipt of Mr Ruxbie, her Majesty incontinently caused him to be apprehended, and all his cyphers and writings; among the which was found the letter written by Secretary Cecil above mentioned. Ruxbie finding himself discovered, fell immediately upon his knees, granting himself worthy of a thousand deaths, humbly craving pardon. Her Majesty caused him to be so secretly and straitly kept, that the English Ambassador could get no intelligence for what cause he was apprehended, until that the Queen did show

him herself, that upon his complaint, to satisfy the Queen her good sister, she had caused to apprehend the said Ruxbie, who should be delivered so soon after his return as it should please her sister to send for him.

But as this Mr Ruxbie was secured, so was the complaint made against him kept secret. For her Majesty was advised to appear altogether ignorant of any of his practices against her devised by Secretary Cecil, it not being thought her interest to put that shame upon one who professed so much to be her friend. Nor was it time to cast off intelligence, so long as it was found profitable to entertain it, as it would have indeed proved, had not such unhappy chances fallen out shortly after.

The Queen's Majesty's reckoning being near run out, she caused me to dispatch for England, to be in readiness to give an account of the news of her delivery to that Queen; leaving a blank in her letter, to be filled up either with a son or a daughter, as it should please God to grant unto her: and to require the Queen of England to send hither, in her name, such of hers as she knew to be best instruments for entertaining good love and friendship betwixt them, to be gossips; as also to satisfy her concerning the most part of Killegrew's demands.

All the while I lay within the Castle of Edinburgh, praying night and day for her Majesty's good and happy delivery of a fair son. This prayer being granted, I was the first who was thereof advertised, by the Lady Boin,[1] in her Majesty's name, to part with diligence the 19 of June 1566, betwixt ten and eleven in the morning. By twelve of the clock I took horse, and was that night at Berwick. The fourth day after I was at London; and did first meet with my brother Sir Robert, who that same night sent and

[1] Boyne.

advertised Secretary Cecil of my arrival, and of the birth of the Prince; desiring him to keep it quiet till my coming to Court, to show it myself unto her Majesty, who was for the time at Greenwich, where her Majesty was in great mirth, dancing after supper. But so soon as the Secretary Cecil whispered in her ear the news of the Prince's birth, all her mirth was laid aside for that night; all present marvelling whence proceeded such a change; for the Queen did sit down, putting her hand under her cheek, bursting out to some of her ladies, that the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock.

The next morning was appointed for me to get audience. At what time my brother and I went by water to Greenwich, and were met by some friends who told us how sorrowful her Majesty was at my news; but that she had been advised to show a glad and cheerful countenance: which she did, in her best apparel, saying, that the joyful news of the Queen her sister's delivery of a fair son, which I had sent her by Secretary Cecil, had recovered her out of a heavy sickness which she had lain under for fifteen days. Therefore she welcomed me with a merry volt, and thanked me for the diligence I had used in hasting to give her that welcome intelligence. All this she said, before I had delivered unto her my letter of credence.

After that she had read it, I declared how that the Queen had hasted me towards her Majesty, as one whom she knew of all her friends would be most joyful of the glad news of her delivery, albeit dear bought with the peril of her life, she being so sore handled that she wished she had never been married. This I said by the way, to give her a little scare from marriage: for so my brother had counselled me, because sometimes she boasted to marry the Archduke Charles of Austria, when any man pressed her to declare a second person.

Then I requested her Majesty to be a gossip to the Prince; to which she gladly condescended. Your Majesty, said I, will now have a fair occasion to see the Queen, whereof I have heard your Majesty so oft desirous. Whereat she smiled, saying she wished that her estate and affairs might permit her. In the meantime she promised to send both honourable Lords and Ladies to supply her room. Then I gave her Majesty, in my Queen's name, most hearty thanks, for her friendly visiting and comforting her by Mr Henry Killegrew. She inquired if I had left him in Scotland, and what was the cause of his long stay. I answered, that the Queen took her chamber shortly after his arrival, which was the chief cause of his delay. But I had in commission to tell her Majesty something thereabout, to satisfy her mind in the meantime, and to thank her Majesty for the putting away of the Scots rebels out of her country, albeit there were some reports that they were yet secretly entertained by some of her subjects, though I hardly believed that any of her subjects durst be so bold, or so disobedient. She affirmed they were out of her dominions; and if it might be otherwise tried out, it should not pass without rigorous punishment. I told her Majesty, that upon her desire, and Ambassador's complaint, the Queen had caused to apprehend Mr Ruxbie, and had ordered him to be delivered to her Majesty whenever she should please to send for him. And as concerning Oneel, she had no dealing with him, nor knew that there had been any servant of his sent to my Lord Argile, until Mr Killegrew's coming, that she caused to inquire at the said Earl; who acknowledged that Oneel had sent one unto him about private purposes betwixt themselves; but that she did neither see nor speak with that man, nor had any dealing with any man in Ireland.

Her Majesty seemed to be well satisfied with the

matters of Ireland, and concerning Mr Ruxbie; but she forgot to send for him. Before I took my farewell in order to my return, I entered with her Majesty concerning the title: for my Lord of Leicester was become my Queen's avowed friend, and had been twice in hand with the Queen of England a little before my coming, desiring her to declare my mistress next heir; alleging it would be her greatest security, and cried out in anger, that Cecil would undo all. Likewise the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Pembroke and several others, showed themselves openly her friends, after they understood the birth of the Prince; so that her Majesty's matters in England were hopeful: and therefore I was advised to say unto her Majesty, that I was assured she had formerly delayed the declaring the Queen second person, only till she might see such succession of her body as now God had graciously granted: entreating her Majesty to embrace that fair offered opportunity of satisfying the minds of many, as well in England as in Scotland, who desired to see that matter out of doubt: and the rather, because that the Queen my mistress would never seek any place or right in England, but by her Majesty's favour and furtherance.

She answered, that the birth of the Prince was a great spur to cause the most skilful lawyers in England to use greater diligence in trying out that matter, which she esteemed to belong most justly to her good sister, and that she wished from her heart that it should be that way decided. I replied, that at my last being with her, I found her Majesty upon the same terms; but that as I had brought her good news from the Queen, I was very desirous to be so happy as to carry home with me unto her Majesty the good tidings of that so long delayed declaration. She answered, she was resolved to satisfy the Queen in that matter by those noblemen she was resolved to send into Scotland,

for the baptism of the Prince. All this I perceived to be but shifts, and so took my leave, because my brother was to remain there. The next day her Majesty sent unto me her letter, with the present of a fair chain.

My brother gave me the advice of her Majesty's friends, together with his own instructions how to proceed after my coming home, as followeth:—

" First, that he is in such suspicion for his handling there, by the advertisements of Mr Ruxbie, and practices of her enemies, that her Majesty must signify to Mr Killegrew, that she is minded shortly to call him home, else he fears he shall be commanded to return.

" Secondly, that her Majesty require the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Cecil to be sent to be her gossips, as fittest instruments to perfect all articles and good offices of amity betwixt them.

" Item, that Mr Killegrew be well treated and rewarded, that he may make good report, to hold off discord, that intelligence may continue; and desire him to declare unto the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Cecil, that it cannot stand with good friendship, to be so long fed with fair words without effect.

" Item, that her Majesty cast not off the Earl of Northumberland, albeit as a fearful and facile man he delivered her letter to the Queen of England: neither appear to find fault with Sir Henry Percy as yet, for his dealing with Mr Ruxbie, which he doth to gain favour at Court, being upon a contrary faction to his brother the Earl.

" Item, that Mr Ruxbie be well kept, and sent far north to some secure part, that he give no hasty intelligence; for he hath already written unto Secretary Cecil, by Sir Henry Percy's conveyance, that he can discover all your practices and secrets.

" Let my Lord Argile entertain Oneel as of himself, the Queen not appearing to know thereof.

'The Secretary Cecil devised strange practices against the meeting; which because my Lord of Leicester discovered unto the Queen his mistress, Cecil stirred up the Earl of Sussex to forge a quarrel against him: but the Queen took the Earl of Leicester's part, and finally agreed them, and also Leicester and Ormond.

"Item, that her Majesty should write two letters with Mr Killegrew to my brother; the one, that he might show unto the Queen of England; the other, that he might show unto the Secretary Cecil.

"Item, to advertise my brother what he should do more for my Lady Lenox, whose liberty might do much good.

"Now to conclude: seeing the great mark which her Majesty shoots at, let her Majesty be more careful and circumspect, that her desires being so near to be obtained, be not all overthrown for lack of secrecy, good management, and princely behaviour, having so many factious enemies lying in wait to make the advantage of the least appearance that can be made."

Shortly after my coming home, Mr Killegrew the English Ambassador obtained his dispatch, with a friendly answer to his contentment, and a fair chain; and with him her Majesty sent these two letters following to my brother by his own advice, that he might take occasion to let the Queen of England see the one, and Mr Cecil the other, partly to serve to put some doubts out of their minds, engendered by Mr Ruxbie's advertisements; for, as I have said, the Bishop of Ross made the said Ruxbie's address to the Queen: for neither he nor the Earl Bothwell desired her Majesty's affairs to prosper under my brother's management, because he was not of their faction; so that by their means Ruxbie got that intelligence as put all her Majesty's affairs once in a venture, until

my brother's extraordinary intelligence from such as were most intimate with the Queen of England, made him to cause apprehend the said Ruxbie, with his whole letters and memoirs, as said is. So are many good princes handled, and commonly their truest servants decourted by the envy and craft of their factious enemies; for wicked men, who have lost their credit by trumpery and tricks, whereby they get no place to do good service to princes, essay to creep into their favour by wiles, flattery, and other unlawful means, whereby they may decourt such as surmount them in virtue and honest reputation. Her Majesty's letter to my brother was as followeth:—

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas your brother James hath told us of the friendly and faithful advice given unto you and him by Mr Secretary Cecil, toward the continuation of the amity betwixt the Queen our good sister and us, tending also to our own particular advantage; we thought meet to send these few lines, that you may thank him heartily in our name, and declare unto him our meaning and intention, as you find opportunity touching the three points that he did mention at that time:

"The first, as we understand, touching our towardliness to them of the Religion; the second, touching strict justice to be observed upon the Borders; the third, that we will endeavour by no other means to come to the succession of the Crown of England, but by the favour and forth-setting of our good sister.

"As to the first, you shall answer in our name, that since our return out of France, we have neither constrained nor persecuted any for cause of Religion, nor yet minds to do; their credit with us being so manifest, that they are entrusted with the principal offices, and bear the chiefest charges in the kingdom, and principally employed in our most urgent affairs before all

others. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton can testify what he hath seen and heard at his being here thereanent, howbeit that contrary bruits are blown abroad by the malice and practices of our enemies. To the second, concerning the Borders; it is most certain, that the principal officers on both the sides, are special instruments of all the disorders, taking occasion upon our late troubles, whenas they perceived that we might not so well take order with them as we were willing, as now when it hath pleased God to grant unto us more quietness; desiring him also to procure at the Queen his sovereign's hands, that the like diligence be taken for her part as shall be seen used by us: and then we doubt not but that both he, she, and all other who complain, shall be satisfied. As to the third and last head; you shall show unto him the tenor of our other letter, for satisfaction to the Queen and our other friends in these parts. So, with my friendly commendations to him and his wife, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty. From the Castle of Edinburgh, this . . . [of the] year 1566."

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have received great comfort and contentment by the declaration your brother hath made to us of the Queen our good sister's continual affection and constant love towards us; which she hath now shown unto you, and your brother at his coming; as also by her letters unto ourself: likewise for the grant she hath made to be our gossip, and promises to send so honourable a company of Lords and Ladies for solemnising the same in her name; for which, in our behalf, you shall give her Majesty most hearty thanks, and show unto her that we desire nothing to be done therein, but as may conduce best for her advantage, and least to her expense; praying her always, that the principal man, whom it will please her to send, be such a one as we have by

long experience known to have been most familiar with her, to whom we may the more freely open our mind, and signify divers things which we intended to have spoken by mouth unto herself, if God had granted our desired meeting. As concerning Oneel, Ruxbie, and all other matters, we hope that Mr Killegrew will satisfy her sufficiently; and also how that we desire to have no advancement in that country, but by her only means and help, hoping and intending so to direct our course and behaviour toward her, as she shall have cause more and more to procure earnestly and carefully herself all things that may further our weal and advancement, in this country, that kingdom, or any other. In the which hope we will do our best to follow such measures as may please her, and to avoid all things that may offend her; and we give our most strict command unto you to do the like, so long as you remain there, and where-ever you be about our service, even as I gave you commandment of before. Nevertheless, in the meantime, entertain most kindly and discreetly all those in that country who profess to bear goodwill unto us and to our title; yet in such sort as neither you nor they offend the Queen our good sister: and if there chance to come to you any hasty or seditious persons, admonish them gently to cease; and if they forbear not, show unto them that we have promised to the Queen to declare the names and practices of such unto her, and that we will not fail to do it indeed if they cease not: so shall it be known, that such as are about to sow discord between the Queen our good sister and us, doth it rather upon particular respects and for their own advantage, than for any design to advance her affairs or ours."

These kind of writings were for that time devised, to overthrow and cast down some intelligences which were discovered by Ruxbie, and some reports raised

by enemies, that my brother by his practices and persuasions had kindled a great fire, and had raised a great faction in England. He did not deny but he had dealt with many to win what favour he could to his mistress; but that he had done nothing that could offend the Queen of England, and that he had no commandment to enterprise anything which could be displeasing to her. By this means Ruxbie's intelligence was suppressed, and my brother suffered to stay still in England; whereby the Queen's friends so increased, that many whole shires were ready to rebel, and their captains already named by the election of the nobility.

About this time her Majesty was advertised by my brother's letters, that the Earl of Bedford was upon his journey toward Scotland with an honourable company, as also the Ambassadors of France and Savoy, for the baptism of the Prince; which moved her Majesty to pass to Stirling with the Prince, for the solemnising thereof. But she was still sad and pensive for the late foul act committed in her presence so irreverently, she being their born Queen, and thereby in hazard of losing the fruit of her womb. So many great sighs she would give, that it was pity to hear her; and few there were to endeavour to comfort her.

Sometime she would declare part of her grief to me; which I essayed the best I could to assuage, by telling her, that I thought the greater multitude of friends that she had got in England should cause her to forget in Scotland the lesser number of enemies and unruly offenders, unworthy of her wrath; and that her excellent qualities, in clemency, temperance and fortitude, should not suffer her mind to be possessed or suppressed with the remembrances of offences; but that rather she should bend up her spirit by a princely and womanly behaviour, whereby she might best gain the hearts of the whole people, both here and in England; humbly

requesting her Majesty, first to consult with her God, next with her honour, and thirdly with her interest, in the establishing of her state, and in joining the two kingdoms in a happy monarchy, which she knew to be so near effectuate in her person; seeking also the banished estate of the offenders so miserable, they not having a hole to hide their head in, nor a penny wherewith to buy their dinner: that the most noble natures would think them sufficiently punished: that it was a comely thing for a woman to be pitiful, and to want vengeance. I leave it, said I, Madam, to your own judgment, whether presently it be more for your honour and advancement of your interest, to cease from any desire or pursuit of any further revenge, whereupon may ensue more desperate enterprises; or to give place unto necessity and reason, to rule over the beastly passions of the mind: for as princes are called divine persons, so no prince can pretend to this title, but he who draws near the nature of God by godliness and good government, being slow to vengeance, and ready to forgive. It is manifestly known that wise princes entertain no longer feud at their enemies, than they see it may be needful for the weal of their affairs and state; and they change their favour and hatred according to time and occasions. Your Majesty may remember, that many things might have been better managed: I speak this with love and reverence. Your Majesty might have been as well obeyed as ever was any King in Scotland, if you had taken such princely care as was requisite. You know, how that by your Majesty's own express commandment, I did show you long before what inconveniences were like to fall out upon the grudges I perceived before the slaughter of Riccio; and God is my witness, I did what lay in my power to have them eschewed and prevented. And since that time your Majesty hath repented that my advice was not followed: I

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

pray God that the like repentance fall not out again too late. At my being in England, your adversaries were beginning to vaunt upon vain reports, that our westerly winds had blown east among them; so that my brother and I had enough to do to beat it out of the heads of divers who were devotedly addicted to the advancement of your title.

This communing began at the entry of her supper in her ear, in French, when she was casting up great sighs, refusing to eat upon any persuasion that my Lords of Murray and Mar could make to her. The supper being ended, her Majesty took me by the hand, and went down through the park of Stirling, and came up through the town, ever reasoning with me upon their purposes. And albeit she took hardly with them at the first, she began to alter her mind, thinking fit that my Lord of Bedford should intercede for her rebels; they to be banished out of England and Scotland during her pleasure, so to be by time reconciled to them, according to their future deportments: and for her part, she purposed to proceed with such a gracious government, as should win the victory over herself, and all her competitors and enemies in time coming; which she could have done as well as any prince in Europe. But, alas! she had bad company about her. For the Earl of Bothwell, who had a mark of his own that he shot at, as soon as he understood of her wise and merciful deliberations, he took occasion to bring in the Earl of Morton and his associates, thereby to make them his friends, and by them to fortify his faction. For apparently he had already in his head the resolution of performing the foul murder of the King, which he afterwards put in execution, that he might marry the Queen. Both which he brought to pass to his own utter wreck and confusion, and thereby great trouble and mischief upon the country; and was also at last the Queen's wreck, and

the hindrance of all our hopes in the hasty obtaining of all her desires concerning the Crown of England.

The Queen's Majesty being advertised that the Earl of Bedford was come to Berwick on his journey to the baptism, sent me well accompanied with diligence to meet him at Coldingham, to be his first convoy, and to inform him rightly of all her proceedings, and to overthrow all evil bruits invented by the malice of her adversaries. For, as I have said, it was a perverse time; and the more that the number of her friends increased in England, the more practices her enemies made, and the more lies were invented against her. But the good Earl gave me more credit than he did to any wrong report that was made. For he was at this time become one of the surest and most affectionate friends she had in England.

There came with him Mr Cary, eldest son to my Lord of Hunsdean; Mr Hatton, greatest in favour with the Queen of England for the time; and one called Mr Lignish, greatest in favour with the Duke of Norfolk; and a good number of knights and gentlemen of Yorkshire, with the most part of the captains of Berwick. Her Majesty was sufficiently informed by my brother's writing to her and me, what kind of language and entertainment was most proper for the Earl and each of them.

When all the rest of the Ambassadors were come, they repined to see the Englishmen more friendly and familiarly used than themselves. For then we had more to do with England than with France. And the French Earl who was sent was no courtier, but a simple man. And Monsieur de Morat, the Duke of Savoy's Ambassador, being far off, came after the baptism. During their abode at Stirling, there was daily banqueting, dancing, and triumph. And at the principal banquet there fell out a great grudge among the Englishmen: for a Frenchman called Bastian

devised a number of men formed like satyrs, with long tails, and whips in their hands, running before the meat, which was brought through the great hall upon a machine or engine, marching as appeared alone, with musicians clothed like maids, singing, and playing upon all sorts of instruments. But the satyrs were not content only to make way or room but put their hands behind them to their tails, which they wagged with their hands in such sort, as the Englishmen supposed it had been devised and done in derision of them; weakly apprehending that which they should not have appeared to understand. For Mr Hatton, Mr Lignish and the most part of the gentlemen desired to sup before the Queen and great banquet, that they might see the better the order and ceremonies of the triumph: but so soon as they perceived the satyrs wagging their tails, they all sat down upon the bare floor behind the back of the table, that they might not see themselves derided, as they thought. Mr Hatton said unto me, if it were not in the Queen's presence, he would put a dagger to the heart of that French knave Bastian, who he alleged had done it out of despite that the Queen made more of them than of the Frenchmen.

I excused the matter the best I could: but the noise was so great behind the Queen's back, where her Majesty and my Lord of Bedford did sit, that they heard, and turned about their faces to inquire what the matter meant. I informed them that it was occasioned by the satyrs, so that the Queen and my Lord of Bedford had both enough to do to get them appeased. It fell out unhappily at such a time, and the English gentlemen committed a great oversight to notice it was done against them. But my Lord of Bedford was discreet and interpreted all things to the best.

My Lord of Bedford was rewarded with a rich chain of diamonds, worth 2000 crowns; Mr Cary

with a chain of pearl, and a ring with a fair diamond; Mr Hatton had a chain with her Majesty's picture, and a ring; Mr Lignish and five others of quality had each of them chains. I was commanded with many others to attend them towards the road. They parted all very well content and satisfied with the Queen's Majesty, but lamented that they perceived the King so much slighted. My Lord of Bedford desired me to request her Majesty to entertain him as she had done at the beginning, for her own honour and the advancement of her affairs; which I forgot not to do at all occasions.

After the baptism and parting of the Ambassadors, her Majesty desirous to put good order upon the Borders, sent the Earl of Bothwell before, who in the pursuit of thieves was hurt. Her Majesty passed afterward to Jedburg herself, where the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly enterprised the slaughter of the Earl of Murray, but the Lord Hume came there with forces and prevented that enterprise. Her Majesty returned by the Merse, and desired to see Berwick afar off, where she was honoured with many shots of artillery; and Sir John Foster, Warden upon the English Border, came and conferred with her Majesty for keeping of good order. And the meantime while he was speaking with her Majesty on horseback, his courser did rise up with his foremost legs, to take the Queen's horse by the neck with his teeth, but his feet hurt her Majesty's thigh very ill. Incontinent the Warden lighted off his horse, and sat down upon his knees craving her Majesty's pardon: for then all England did much reverence her. Her Majesty made him to rise, and said that she was not hurt, yet it compelled her Majesty to tarry two days at the Castle of Hume until she recovered again. The King followed her about whithersoever she rode, but got no good countenance; so finding himself slighted, he went to Glasgow,

where he fell sick; it being alleged that he had got poison from some of his servants.

In the meantime the Earl of Bothwell ruled all at Court, having brought home the banished Lords, and packed up a quiet friendship with the Earl of Morton. After her Majesty's return to Edinburgh, she reconciled the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Argile and others. From that her Majesty went to Stirling to see the Prince, and returned again to Edinburgh, whither the King was afterward brought and lodged in the Kirk-field as a place of good air, where he might best recover his health. But many suspected that the Earl of Bothwell had some enterprise against him, few durst advertise him, because he told all again to some of his own servants, who were not all honest. Yet Lord Robert Earl of Orkney told him, that if he retired not hastily out of that place, it would cost him his life; which he told again to the Queen; and my Lord Robert denied that ever he spoke it: this advertisement moved the Earl of Bothwell to haste forward his enterprise. He had before laid a train of powder under the house where the King did lodge, and in the night did blow up the said house with the powder; but it was spoken that the King was taken forth, and brought down to a stable, where a napkin was stopped in his mouth, and he therewith suffocated.

Everybody suspected the Earl of Bothwell, and those who durst speak freely to others said plainly that it was he. Whereupon he drew together a number of Lords of his dependers to be an Assize, which cleansed and acquitted him; some for fear; some for favour, and the greatest part in expectation of advantage. This way being assoilzied, he remained still the greatest favourite at Court. My Lord of Murray was retired from the Court several days before. Her Majesty kept her chamber for a while. I came to the door the next morning after the murder; and the Earl of

Bothwell said that her Majesty was sorrowful and quiet, which occasioned him to come forth. He said the strangest accident had fallen out which ever was heard of, for thunder had come out of the sky, and had burnt the King's house, and himself was found dead lying a little distance from the house under a tree. He desired me to go up and see him, how that there was not a hurt nor a mark on all his body. But when I went up to see him, he had been taken into a chamber, and kept by one Alexander Durham; but I could not get a sight of him.

The bruit began to rise that the Queen would marry the Earl of Bothwell, who had six months before married the Earl of Huntly's sister, and that for this design he was resolved to part with his own lady. Whereat every good subject who loved the Queen's honour and the Prince's safety, had sore hearts, thinking thereby her Majesty would be dishonoured, and the Prince in danger to be cut off by him who had slain his father. But few or none durst speak in the contrary. Yet my Lord Herreis a worthy nobleman came to Edinburgh well accompanied, and told her Majesty what reports were going through the country, of the Earl of Bothwell's murdering the King, and how that she was to marry him, requesting her Majesty most humbly upon his knees to remember her honour and dignity, and the safety of the Prince, which all would be in danger if she married the said Earl, with many other great persuasions to show the utter wreck and inconveniences would be thereby occasioned. Her Majesty appeared to wonder how these reports could go abroad, seeing, as she said, there was no such thing in her mind. He begged her Majesty's pardon, and prayed her to take his honest meaning in a good part. And immediately took his farewell, fearing the Earl of Bothwell should get notice thereof. He had fifty horse with him for the time, and caused each of

them to buy a new spear at Edinburgh, and so rode home.

I was resolved to have said as much to her Majesty; but in the meantime there came a letter to me from one Thomas Bishop a Scottishman, who had been long in England, and was a great persuader of many in England to favour her Majesty's title. He used oft to write unto my brother and me informations and advertisements. At this time in his letter to me, he used even the like language that my Lord Herreis had spoken, but more freely, because he was absent in another country. He adjured me to show the said letter unto her Majesty, declaring how it was bruited in England that her Majesty was to marry the Earl of Bothwell, who was the murderer of her husband, who at present had a wife of his own, a man full of all vice; which reports he could not believe, by reason that he judged her Majesty to be of far greater knowledge, than to commit such a gross oversight, so prejudicial every way to her interest, and the noble mark he knew she shot at: seeing if she married him, she would lose the favour of God, her own reputation, and the hearts of all England, Ireland and Scotland, with many other dissuasions and examples of history, which would be tedious to rehearse. I had been some days absent, but upon receipt hereof I went to Court to show this letter to her Majesty, protesting that she would take it in good part.

After that her Majesty had read the said letter, she gave it me again without any more speech, but called upon the Secretary Lidington, and told him that I had showed her a strange letter, desiring him also to read it. He asked what it could be. She answered, a device of his own, tending to the wreck of the Earl of Bothwell. He took me by the hand, and drew me aside to see the said letter; which when he had read, he asked what had been in my mind, for, says he, so

soon as the Earl Bothwell gets notice hereof, as I fear he will very shortly, he will cause you to be killed. I said it was a sore matter to see that good princess run to utter wreck, and nobody to be so far concerned in her as to forewarn her of her danger. He said I had done more honestly than wisely; and therefore I pray you, says he, retire diligently before the Earl of Bothwell comes up from his dinner. Her Majesty told him at her first meeting, having first engaged him to promise to do me no harm. Notwithstanding whereof I was inquired after, but was flown and could not be found till his fury was slacked: for I was advertised there was nothing but slaughter in case I had been gotten. Whereat her Majesty was much dissatisfied, telling him that he would cause her be left of all her servants; whereupon he renewed his engagements that I should receive no harm; whereof I being advertised, I went again unto her Majesty, showing her that she had never so much injured me as by thinking that I had invented the said letter, assuring her that it came from the said Thomas Bishop, and that albeit it had not come from him, I thought it my duty to have freely told her Majesty my opinion in all reverence and humility, which was contained in the said letter; but I found she had no mind to enter upon this subject.

Shortly after her Majesty went to Stirling, and in her back-coming betwixt Linlithgow and Edinburgh, the Earl of Bothwell rencountered her with a great company, and took her Majesty's horse by the bridle; his men took the Earl of Huntly, the Secretary Lidington and me, and carried us captives to Dunbar: all the rest were permitted to go free. There the Earl of Bothwell boasted he would marry the Queen, who would or who would not; yea whether she would herself or not. Captain Blackater who had taken me, alleged that it was with the Queen's own consent. The next

day in Dunbar I obtained permission to go home. Afterward the Court came to Edinburgh; and there a number of noblemen were drawn together in a chamber within the palace, where they all subscribed a paper, declaring that they judged it was much the Queen's interest to marry Bothwell, he having many friends in Lothian and upon the borders, which would cause good order to be kept. And then the Queen could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will. I cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his own wife, sister to the Earl of Huntly.

A little before this the Earl of Murray had desired liberty to go to France. The Secretary Lidington had been long in suspicion absent from Court, and was brought in again by my brother Sir Robert's persuasion, for the great credit and handling he had with many noblemen in England favourers of her Majesty's title: albeit that he had as great credit himself; yet he would not follow the custom of ambitious courtiers who would engross all to themselves, unwilling to suffer a companion. He knew also that he was suspected, because the Earl Bothwell was not his friend. Thus Lidington was again brought in; but not long after the Earl of Bothwell thought to have slain him in the Queen's chamber, had not her Majesty come betwixt and saved him: but he fled the next day and tarried with the Earl of Athole.

As for me I was not oft at Court but now and then, yet I chanced to be there at the marriage. When I came that time to the Court, I found my Lord Duke of Orkney sitting at his supper, who welcomed me, saying, I had been a great stranger, desiring me to sit down and sup with him; the Earl of Huntly, the justice clerk, and divers others being sitting at table with him. I said I had already supped. Then he called for a cup of wine and drank to me, saying, you

had need grow fatter, for, says he, the zeal of the commonwealth hath eaten you up, and made you lean. I answered, that every little member should serve for some use, but the care of the commonwealth appertained most to him, and the rest of the nobility, who should be as fathers of the same. I knew well, says he, he would find a pin for every bore. Then he fell in discoursing of gentlewomen, speaking such filthy language, that I left him, and went up to the Queen, who expressed much satisfaction at my coming.

The marriage was made at the palace in Holy-rood-house, after sermon by Adam Bothwell Bishop of Orkney, in the great hall where the council used to sit, according to the order of the Reformed Religion, and not in the chapel at the mass, as was the King's marriage.

After the marriage, he who was Earl of Bothwell, now Duke of Orkney, was very earnest to get the Prince in his hands; but my Lord of Mar, who was a true nobleman, would not deliver him out of his custody, alleging that he could not without consent of the three states: yet he was so frequently crossed by such as had the authority in their hands, that he was thereby put to a great strait. And after that he had made divers refusals, among others he made his moan to me, praying me to help to save the Prince out of his hands who had slain his father, and had already made his vaunt among his familiars, that if he could get him once in his hands, he would warrant him from revenging his father's death. I assured his lordship he should want no assistance I was capable to give: he desired to know if I could propose any outgate. I answered that I was intimately acquainted with Sir James Balfour, and that I knew how matters stood betwixt Bothwell and him, namely there were some jealousies arisen betwixt them, which I thought, if rightly managed, might be improved for the Prince's

safety. I also told him that the Earl intended to have the castle out of his hands: for the Earl and he had been great companions, and he was also very great with the Queen, so that the custody of the Castle of Edinburgh was committed to him: but afterward he would not content to be present, nor take part with the murderers of the King, whereby he came in suspicion with the Earl of Bothwell, who would no more credit him, so that he would have had the Castle out of his hands, to have committed the charge thereof to the Laird of Beinston. I told his lordship he might make this one of his excuses, that he could not deliver the Prince till he should see a secure place to keep him in.

And upon the other hand, when I returned to Edinburgh, I dealt with Sir James Balfour, not to part with the Castle, whereby he might be an instrument to save the Prince and the Queen, who was so disdainfully handled, and with such reproachful language, that in presence of Arthur Areskine, I heard her ask for a knife to stab herself, or else, said she, I shall drown myself. Now, says I, to Sir James Balfour, there is no security for you to be out of suspicion, but to keep the Castle in your own hands, and so to be the good instrument both of saving Queen and Prince, and in assisting the nobility, who are about to crown the Prince, and to pursue the Earl of Bothwell for the King's murder. I told him, that unless he took part with them, he would be holden as guilty of the said murder, by reason of his long familiarity with the Earl of Bothwell: that it was a happy thing for him that the said Earl was in suspicion of him; assuring him that I had intelligence, by one who was of the Earl of Bothwell's council, to wit, the Laird of Whitlaw, Captain of the Castle of Dunbar, that the Earl of Bothwell was determined to take the Castle of Edinburgh from him, and make the Laird of Beinston, one

Hepburn, captain thereof, and then to put the Prince there in his keeping.

Sir James Balfour gave ear to my proposition, and consented to help to pursue the murderers, upon condition that the Laird of Grange would engage upon his honour to be his protector, in case afterward the nobility should alter upon him: for he and most of them had formerly run contrary courses, so that he durst not credit them.

The Earl of Mar being hereof from me advertised, by his brother Alexander Areskine, who was true and careful of the Prince's safety, coming secretly to me at midnight; for the days were dangerous for all honest men. Now my Lord of Mar being continually required and threatened to deliver the Prince out of his hands, at length granted (only to drive off time) upon condition that an honest responsible nobleman should be made Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, the only secure place of keeping the Prince in. This answer was thought fit to assuage the present fury, until the nobility might convene to pursue the murderers, and to crown the Prince, as they had already concluded at a secret meeting among themselves; which was not kept so private but that one of the said lords gave advertisement thereof to the Earl of Bothwell, how that they were minded to environ the palace of Holy-rood-house, and therein to apprehend him. Whereupon he forgot inquiring after the Prince, being only now concerned how to save himself: therefore he fled out of Edinburgh to the Castle of Borthwick, from that to the Castle of Dunbar, taking always the Queen with him wherever he went.

All Scotland cried out upon the foul murder of the King; but few of them were careful how to revenge it, till they were driven thereto by the crying out of all other nations against all Scottishmen where ever they travelled either by sea or land. Among other

princes, the King of France sent hither to his Ambassador Monsieur le Croc, a grave, aged, discreet gentleman, advanced by the house of Guise, a letter, therein expressing his wonder, that such a foul murder being committed upon the person of a King, so few honest subjects were found to find fault with the same, far less to seek after any trial, or see the same punished. Whereupon the Lords who had the enterprise in hand were hasted forward to take arms; and in the meantime they obliged themselves, by a writing under their hands, which they delivered to the said Monsieur le Croc to send to the King his master, that they should do their utmost diligence to try out the authors of that foul murder of their King: and in the meantime convened to the number of 3000 men, and came to Edinburgh, and there set out a proclamation of their just quarrel. Also sundry libels were set out both in rhyme and prose, to move the hearts of the whole subjects to assist and take part in so good a cause.

The Earl of Bothwell having the Queen in his company convened a greater number out of the Merse and Lothian, and out of all parts where he had interest or friendship. Her Majesty's proclamation was not well obeyed; and so many as came had no hearts to fight in that quarrel. Yet the Earl of Bothwell marched forward out of Dunbar toward Edinburgh, taking the Queen with him. The Lords again with their company went out of Edinburgh on foot, with an earnest desire to fight. Both armies lay not far from Carberry: the Earl Bothwell's men camped upon the hill, in a strength very advantageous; the Lords encamped at the foot of the hill. And albeit her Majesty was there, I cannot call it her army: for many of those who were with her were of opinion that she had intelligence with the Lords, especially such as were informed of the many indignities put upon her by the Earl of Bothwell since their marriage. He was so beastly and suspicious,

that he suffered her not to pass one day in patience, without making her shed abundance of tears. Thus part of his own company detested him; other part of them believed that her Majesty would fain have been quit of him, but thought shame to be the doer thereof directly herself.

In the meantime the Laird of Grange did ride about the hill with 200 horsemen, who came there with Drumlanrig, Cessford and Coldingknows,[1] thinking to be betwixt the Earl of Bothwell and Dunbar, and was minded to make an onset that way, which was plain, and that in the meantime that the Lords should come up the hill to the part where their adversaries were encamped.

When the Queen understood that the Laird of Grange was chief of that company of horsemen, she sent the Laird of Ormiston to desire him to come and speak with her under surety; which he did, after he had acquainted the Lords with her desire, and had obtained their permission. As he was speaking with her Majesty, the Earl of Bothwell had appointed a soldier to shoot him, until the Queen gave a cry, and said that he would not do her that shame, seeing she had promised that he should come and return safely. He was declaring unto the Queen, that all of them were ready to honour and serve her, upon condition that she would abandon the Earl of Bothwell, who had murdered her husband, and could not be a husband unto her, who had but lately married the Earl of Huntly's sister. The Earl of Bothwell hearkened, and heard part of this language, and offered the combat to any who would maintain that he had murdered the King. The Laird of Grange promised to send him an answer shortly thereunto.

So he took his leave of the Queen, and went down the hill to the Lords; who were content that the Laird

[1] Cowdenknowes.

of Grange should fight with him in that quarrel; for he first offered himself, and acquainted Bothwell that he would fight with him upon that quarrel. The Earl of Bothwell answered, that he was neither Earl nor Lord, but a Baron; and so was not his equal. The like answer made he to Tullibardine. Then my Lord Lindsay offered to fight him; which he could not well refuse: but his heart failed him, and he grew cold in the business. Then the Queen sent again for the Laird of Grange, and said to him, that if the Lords would do as he had spoken to her, she should put away the Earl of Bothwell, and come unto them. Whereupon he asked the Lords, if he might in their name make her Majesty that promise: which they commissioned him to do. Then he rode up again, and saw the Earl of Bothwell part; and came down again, and assured the Lords thereof. They desired him to go up the hill again, and receive the Queen: who met him, and said, Laird of Grange, I render myself unto you, upon the conditions you rehearsed unto me in the name of the Lords. Whereupon she gave him her hand; which he kissed, leading her Majesty's horse by the bridle down the hill unto the lords; who came forward and met her.

The noblemen used all dutiful reverence; but some of the rascals cried out against her despitefully, till the Laird of Grange and others who knew their duty better, drew their swords, and struck at such as did speak irreverent language; which the nobility well allowed of. Her Majesty was that night convoyed to Edinburgh, and lodged in the midst of the town, in the Provost's lodging. As she came through the town, the common people cried out against her Majesty at the windows and stairs; which was a pity to hear. Her Majesty again cried out to all gentlemen and others, who passed up and down the streets, declaring how that she was their native princess, and that she

doubted not but all honest subjects would respect her as they ought to do, and not suffer her to be abused. Others again evidenced their malice, in setting up a banner or ensign, whereupon the King was painted lying dead under a tree, and the young prince upon his knees praying, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord."

That same night it was alleged that her Majesty did write a letter unto the Earl of Bothwell, and promised a reward to one of her keepers to convoy it securely to Dunbar unto the said Earl, calling him her dear heart, whom she should never forget nor abandon, though she was necessitated to be absent from him for time; saying, that she had sent him away only for his safety, willing him to be comforted, and be upon his guard: which letter the knave delivered to the Lords, though he had promised the contrary. Upon which letter the Lords took occasion to send her to Lochlevin[1] to be kept: which she alleged was contrary to promise. They on the other hand affirmed, that by her own hand-writing she had declared, that she had not, nor would abandon the Earl of Bothwell.

Grange again excused her, alleging she had in effect abandoned the said Earl; that it was no wonder that she gave him yet a few fair words, not doubting but if she were discreetly handled, and humbly admonished what inconveniences that man had brought upon her, she would by degrees be brought, not only to leave him, but ere long to detest him: and therefore he advised to deal gently with her. But they said, that it stood them upon their lives and lands, and that therefore in the meantime they behoved to secure her; and when that time came that she should be known to abandon and detest the Earl Bothwell, it would be then time to reason upon the matter. Grange was yet so angry, that had it not been for the letter, he

[1] Lochleven.

had instantly left them; and, for the next best, he used all possible diligence to make her and them both quit of the said Earl, causing to make ready two ships to follow after him, who had fled to the Castle of Dunbar, and from thence to Schetland.

In the meantime her Majesty sent a letter to the Laird of Grange, lamenting her hard usage, and showing him that promises had been broken to her. Whereunto he answered, that he had already reproached the Lords for the same; who showed unto him a letter sent by her unto the Earl of Bothwell, promising, among many other fair and comfortable words, never to abandon or forget him; which had stopped his mouth, marvelling that her Majesty considered not, that the said Earl could never be her lawful husband, being so lately before married with another, whom he had deserted without any just ground, although he had not been so hated for the murder of the King her husband: and therefore he requested her Majesty to put him clean out of mind, seeing otherwise she could never get the love or respect of her subjects, nor have that obedience paid her which otherwise she might expect. It contained many other loving and humble admonitions, which made her bitterly to weep: for she could not do that so hastily, which process of time might have accomplished.

Now the Laird of Grange's two ships being in readiness, he made sail toward Orkney; and no man was so frank to accompany him as the Laird of Tullibardine, and Adam Bothwell Bishop of Orkney. But the Earl was fled from Orkney to Schetland: whither also they followed him, and came in sight of Bothwell's ship; which moved the Laird of Grange to cause the skipper to hoise up all the sails: which they were loath to do, because they knew the shallow water thereabout. But Grange fearing to miss him com-

pelled the mariners; so that for too great haste, the ship wherein Grange was, did break upon a bed of sand, without loss of a man. But Bothwell had leisure in the meantime to save himself in a little boat, leaving his ship behind him: which Grange took, and therein the Laird of Tallow, John Hepburn of Bouton, Dalgleish, and divers others of the Earl's servants. Himself fled to Denmark, where he was taken, and kept in strait prison; wherein he became mad, and died miserably. But Grange came back again with Bothwell's ship and servants, who were the first who gave information of the manner of the murder; which the lords thought fit to let the King of France understand, and of their diligence, according to the promise made by them.

My Lord of Murray had obtained liberty to pass into France shortly after the murder of the King; for he did foresee the great trouble like to ensue. The rest of the Lords Enterprisers, after they had secured the Queen in Lochlevin, began to consult how to get her Majesty counselled to demit the government to the Prince her son; and for that effect they dealt first with my brother Sir Robert, because he was sometimes allowed access to her Majesty: and after that he had refused flatly to meddle in that matter, they were minded to send the Lord Lindsay, first to use fair persuasions, and in case he could not speed that way, they were resolved to enter in harder terms.

The Earls of Athole, Mar, and Secretary Lidington, and the Laird of Grange, who loved her Majesty, advised my brother to tell her the verity, and how that anything she did in prison could not prejudge her, being once again at liberty. He answered, he would give no such advice as coming from himself, but he should tell it as the opinion of those he knew to be her true friends. But she refused utterly to follow that advice, till she heard that the Lord Lindsay was at the new house at the shore coming in, and in a very

boasting humour: and then she yielded to the necessity of the time, and told my brother that she would not strive with them, seeing it could do her no harm when she was at liberty. So at my Lord Lindsay's coming, she subscribed the signature of renunciation and demission of the government to the Prince, and certain Lords, named in the said signature, to be Regents to the Prince and country; her Majesty desiring my Lord Murray, who was absent in France, to be the first Regent.

This being past, the Lords concluded to crown the Prince; and sent letters to France to the Earl of Murray to come home. In the meantime there were a number of lords convened at Hamilton, as my Lord Hamilton, my Lord Paisley, John Hamilton Bishop of St Andrews, my Lord Fleming, Boid, and divers others, to whom the Lords who were to crown the Prince would have sent me commissioner. Which commission at the first I refused; but afterwards I accepted thereof at the advice of Secretary Lidington, the Laird of Grange, and other secret favourers of the Queen, who judged it very fit that the whole country should be joined together in quietness; fearing that in case civil wars entered among them, it might endanger her Majesty's life: for it was judged that those who were at Hamilton appeared to lean to the Queen.

At my coming to Hamilton, I told them my commission in the name of the other Lords, how that the King being murdered, all neighbour nations cried out upon the whole kingdom, but especially the King of France and the Queen of England solicited them to inquire after, and punish the murderers: how that they had found that it was the Earl of Bothwell, and some of them who had assisted him, who were punished; and what was past since thereupon was known to the whole country: that the Queen's Majesty had demitted over the government to the Prince her son, whom they were minded to crown shortly; where-

of they thought fit to warn all the nobility, as being resolved to prejudge no nobleman of his rights, titles or prerogatives; requesting them who were there convened to come to Stirling, and be present at the said coronation, for retaining their own privileges, the peace and quiet of the whole country. Some of the younger Lords answered, and said, that they would not believe that the Queen's Majesty had demitted the government; and if she had done it, it would be found for to save her life. But the Bishop, who had more experience than they, reproved them, and said that those noblemen had dealt very reasonably and discreetly with them. So he drew the rest aside to advise, and then returned and gave me this answer:—

"We are beholden to the noblemen who have sent you with that friendly and discreet commission; and, following their desire, we are ready to concur with them, if they give us sufficient security of that which you have said in their name; and in so doing, they give us occasion to construct the best of all their proceedings past and to come: so that if they had acquainted us with their first enterprise of punishing the murder, we should heartily have taken part with them. And whereas now we are here convened, it is not to pursue or offend any of them, but to be upon our own guards, notwithstanding of so great a concourse of noblemen, Barons, burroughs, and other subjects: for not being made privy to their enterprise, we thought fit to draw ourselves together, till we should see whereto things would turn."

When I returned back to Stirling, and declared this answer, it was judged satisfactory by all wise and honest-hearted men; but others said, that however they minded to do, I had painted out a fair story for them, and in their favours: so that I perceived them already divided in factions and opinions. For so many

of our Lords as leaned to England desired not the stability of our state; others had particular prejudices and designs against the Hamiltons, and expected to get them ruined, to gain advantage to themselves by fishing in troubled waters: so that the Hamiltons were ill used; for they would fain have agreed with the rest, but their friendship and society was plainly refused at this time, and they not permitted to come to the coronation, nor yet to take instruments that they should not be prejudged in any sort; which occasioned great trouble afterward in the country. For they perceiving themselves cast off, and their friendship and assistance refused, endeavoured for their own security and defence to draw in other noblemen and Barons to join with them, who had not as yet joined with the other Lords, and therefore were the more easily drawn upon that side (and these were afterward called the Queen's Lords), when they were convinced of the bad usage the Hamiltons had received.

I have before related that my Lord Murray was written for to come home; and so soon as he came to London the Lords were thereof advertised, who desired me to ride and meet him at Berwick, and show him how that the office of Regent was appointed for him. Which journey I accepted with the better will, in that some friends who were best inclined, thought meet to give him good counsel in due time. My commission from the Lords was to inform him of all their proceedings, and of the present estate, and to desire him to do nothing without their knowledge with the Queen: for they feared that he might carry himself with that mildness toward her, as to oblige her to believe he intended some time to release her; and that he would not run so hard a course against her, as some of them would had him to do.

Another part of the said Lords (that did still bear a great love unto the Queen, and had compassion upon

her estate, and who entered upon that enterprise only for safety of the Prince, and punishment of the King's murder, as the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Athole, the Secretary Lidington, the Lairds of Tullibardine and Grange) sent their instructions with me to my Lord of Murray, praying him in their name to behave himself gently and humbly unto the Queen, and to procure so much favour for her as he could. Not that they would advise him to forget any part of honest duty to the Lords, so long as they kept touch with him; but that in case they, or any part of them would be offended at him afterwards, for the refusal of some casualty, benefice, or the like, they would come to themselves again, seeing the Queen and him in so good terms, lest he should set her at liberty upon account of their misbehaviour. And further, that her Majesty being now free of ill company, and of a clear wit and princely inclination, was beginning already to repent her of many things past, and time might bring about such occasions as they should all wish her at liberty to rule over them; and that in that case, he would not lose by his discreet and friendly behaviour to her. He appeared much to relish this advice, but he seemed somewhat refractory of accepting the government, refusing it plainly at first, albeit I was informed by some of his company, that he was right glad when he understood first that he was to be Regent.

There came home with him a French Ambassador of my acquaintance, who was sent to see how matters passed, to comfort the captive Queen, and to intercede for her; but he did very slenderly: for he said to the Lords, he came not to offend any of them, alleging that the old band and league betwixt France and Scotland was not made with any one prince, but betwixt the estates of the two kingdoms, and with those who were commanders over the country for the time.

After that my Lord of Murray had met with all his

friends, he granted to accept the government. But when he went to see the Queen in Lochlevin, instead of comforting her, and following the good counsel he had gotten, he entered instantly with her Majesty in reproaches, giving her such injurious language as was like to break her heart. We who found fault with that manner of procedure, lost his favour. The injuries were such, that they cut the thread of love and credit betwixt the Queen and him for ever.

You have heard how that the Lords who were in Hamilton were cast off, and refused to be accepted into society with the rest, against the opinion of the fewest in number, though the wisest men and least factious. But the worst-inclined and manyest votes obtained their intent. Whereupon the Lords who were refused to be brought into friendship drew themselves together in Dunbarton, under the pretext to procure by force of arms the Queen their sovereign's liberty, and banded themselves together against the King's Lords; which they would not have done, if they could have been accepted in society with the rest. Albeit their public professing their intention of spending their lives for the Queen's liberty put her Majesty's life in greater danger, so long as she was captive in the hands of the contrary party, and was at length her Majesty's utter wreck. For the hope that she had to get friends and favourers caused her to use means to escape out of Lochlevin too hastily, ere the time was ripe enough to recover again the hearts of the subjects, who were yet alienated. For albeit my Lord Regent was rigorous, he was flexible and might have been won through process of time by her wisdom and the interest of her friends. The tenor of their bond was as followeth:

"Forasmuch as considering the Queen's Majesty our sovereign to be detained at present at Lochlevin in

captivity, wherefore the most part of her Majesty's lieges cannot have free access to her Highness; and seeing it becomes us of our duty to seek her liberty and freedom: we Earls, Lords and Barons under subscribing, promise faithfully to use the outmost of our endeavours by all reasonable means to procure her Majesty's liberty and freedom, upon such honest conditions as may stand with her Majesty's honour, the common weal of the whole realm, and security of the whole nobility who at present have her Majesty in keeping; whereby this our native realm may be governed, ruled and guided by her Majesty and her nobility, for the common quietness, the administration of justice, and weal of the country. And in case the noblemen who have her Majesty at present in their hands refuse to set her at liberty, upon such reasonable conditions as said is, in that case we shall employ ourselves, our kindred, friends, servants, and partakers, our bodies and lives, to set her Highness at liberty, as said is; and also to concur to the punishment of the murder of the King her Majesty's husband; and for sure preservation of the person of the Prince, as we shall answer to God, and on our honours and credit: and to that effect shall concur every one with other at our utmost power. And if any shall set upon us, or any of us, for the doing as aforesaid; in that case, we promise faithfully to espouse one another's interest, under pain of perjury and infamy, as we shall answer to God. In witness whereof, we have subscribed these presents with our hand, at Dunbarton, the
day of

St Andrews.	Fleming.
Argile.	Herris.
Huntly.	Skirling.
Arbroath.	Kilwonning.
Galloway.	Will. Hamilton of Sanchar,
Ross.	knight."

This small number were the first who banded themselves together, and afterward all those who were malcontents, or had any particular questions, claims, or feuds with any of the King's Lords, drew to these new confederates, hoping by time to win their intent against their adversaries, in case their faction might prevail. And some drew to both the factions, who neither desired to see the kirk nor country in any established estate.

The Court of England, on the other hand, left nothing undone to kindle the fire, and to furnish both the factions with hope of assistance in case of need. For ofttimes by their Ambassadors ordinary who were resident here, they upon some new occasion would send in another openly to deal with the King's faction, because it was strongest and greatest; and underhand to deal with the Queen's faction, and allege that their quarrel was most just and right, and that her Majesty's authority was only lawful. No man can tell this better than I, who was so long well acquainted with all the Ambassadors who were sent to Scotland, during their banishment in France in Queen Mary's time; as with Mr Randolph, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Mr Dayson, Mr Killegrew, and the Marshal of Berwick. Among the which number Sir Nicholas Throckmorton dealt most honestly and plainly, for he shot at the union of the whole Isle in one monarchy; and thought that it only consisted in the persons of two for the time, to wit, the Queen, and the King her son. And when he saw Mr Randolph go about to sow discord, he declared the same to my brother and me, and detested him for his devilish intent and dealing: yea he detested the whole Council of England for the time, and told us friendly what reasoning they held among themselves for that effect, to wit, how that one of their greatest counsellors proposed openly to the rest, that it was needful for the welfare of England to foster

and nourish with some help the civil wars, as well in France, Flanders, as Scotland, whereby England might have many advantages, and be sought after by all parties, and in the meantime live at rest and gather great riches themselves.

This advice and proposition was well allowed of by most part of the Council, yet one honest counsellor stood up and said, that it was a very worldly advice, and had little or nothing to do with a Christian Commonwealth, nor yet would it be found profitable in all points. First he said, it is worldly and not godly; for though I grant, said he, that France, which is so potent a kingdom, if it knew its own strength might suppress all its neighbours, and therefore would be so handled; yet even there the fire would die out incontinent, except the Prince of Condé were better furnished and helped. As for Flanders, he said, that the trouble was prejudicial to England, because by the wars in Flanders, England's great traffic of merchandise is hindered, whereby they have greatest gain. As for Scotland, he said it was against their weal to hold them in dissension, so long as my Lord of Murray was Regent, who was their friend, and would be ready to assist them with his power in their necessity. Another counsellor affirmed that to be true, but if my Lord Murray were dead, Scotland behoved likewise to be kept in hot water. Which conclusion was commonly followed afterward, and was soon discovered by the wisest of our country who were not factious; but too late by the rest of the raging multitude, who through process of time were so battered one against another, ere the play was ended, that they would have eaten one another with their teeth.

Now my Lord of Murray having accepted the government upon him, pressed to have the strengths in his hands, as the Castles of Edinburgh, Dunbar, and Dunbarton. The Castle of Edinburgh was still

in the hands of Sir James Balfour, who had assisted the noblemen who had pursued the murder, and now took plain part with them, and likewise assisted the new made Regent. Yet he desired to have the Castle out of his hands; which he was content to deliver up upon condition that the Laird of Grange should be made Captain thereof, upon the constancy of whose friendship he reposed most; which was easily granted by the Regent, and all the rest. After this, the other strengths were also rendered to him. Then he took great pains to steal secret roads upon the thieves on the borders, tending much to the quieting thereof. He likewise held Justice-eyres in the in-country: but was not so diligent as he might have been in settling the differences among the nobility, and to draw them, by a sweet and discreet equitable behaviour, to the obedience of the King's authority. Which might have been easily done, if they had gotten security for their persons and estates. But such as were about him, having their own ambitious and covetous ends, counselled him otherwise, thinking by the wreck of others to make up themselves. They were so blinded by their affections and greedy appetites, that they thought all would succeed prosperously according to their desires, without any resistance. Thus rushing forward, the Regent's rough proceedings gave occasion to many to draw to the contrary faction. And they to strengthen themselves under the name of authority, devised how to draw the Queen's Majesty out of Lochlevin to be their head before the time was ripe; whereof the Regent was oft and frequently warned, even by divers who were upon the counsel of her out-taking, who desired that way to win thanks at his hands. But he would credit nothing, but such things as came out of the mouths of those who had crept into his favour by flattery.

In the meantime the Queen was convoyed out of

Lochlevin by George Douglas the Laird's brother, and the Regent's half-brother, who was for the time in some evil terms with them. The old lady his mother was also thought to be upon the counsel. My Lord Seaton[1] and some of the house of Hamilton, and divers of their dependers, received her Majesty at her landing out of the Loch, and convoyed her to Hamilton.

The Regent being for the time at Glasgow holding Justice-eyres, proclamations and missives were incontinently sent abroad by both sides to convene so many as would act for them in the country. A French Ambassador was come to Edinburgh ten days before, called Monsieur de Beaumont, knight of the order of the cockle, whom I had convoyed to Glasgow, and had procured to him a sight of the Queen while captive. He said to me, that he never did see so many men so suddenly convened; for he rode to Hamilton to the Queen, and dealt between the parties for peace, but was not heard.

Her Majesty was not minded to fight, nor hazard battle, but to go unto the Castle of Dunbarton, and endeavour by little and little to draw home again unto her obedience the whole subjects. But the Bishop of St Andrews, and the house of Hamilton, and the rest of the Lords there convened, finding themselves in number far beyond the other party, would needs hazard a battle, thinking thereby to overcome the Regent their great enemy, and be also masters of the Queen, to command and rule all at their pleasure. Some alleged that the Bishop was minded to cause the Queen to marry my Lord Hamilton, in case they had obtained the victory. And I was since informed by some who were present, that the Queen herself feared the same, therefore she pressed them still to convoy her to Dunbarton, and had sent me word with the French Ambassador the same morning before

[1] Seton.

the battle, to draw on a meeting for concord, by the means of the Secretary Lidington and the Laird of Grange: and for her part she would send the Lord Herreis and some other. She had also caused my brother Sir Robert to write a letter to me that same morning, for that same effect; but the Queen's army came on so fiercely that there was no stay.

The Regent went out on foot, and all his company except the Laird of Grange, Alexander Hume of Manderston, and some borderers to the number of 200. The Laird of Grange had already viewed the ground, and with all imaginable diligence caused every horseman to take behind him a footman of the Regent's to guard behind them, and rode with speed to the head of the Langside hill, and set down the said footmen with their culverins at the head of a strait lane, where there were some cottage houses and yards of great advantage. Which soldiers with their continual shot, killed divers of the vauntguard led by the Hamiltons, who courageously and fiercely ascending up the hill, were already out of breath when the Regent's vauntguard joined with them. Where the worthy Lord Hume fought on foot with his pike in his hand very manfully, well assisted by the Laird of Cesford his brother-in-law, who helped him up again, when he was stricken to the ground with many strokes upon his face, by the throwing pistols at him after they had been discharged. He was also wounded with staves, and had many strokes of spears through his legs; for he and Grange, at the joining, cried to let their adversaries first lay down their spears, to bear up theirs; which spears were so thick fixed in others' jacks, that some of the pistols and great staves, that were thrown by them which were behind, might be seen lying upon the spears.

Upon the Queen's side the Earl of Argile commanded the battle; and the Lord of Arbroath the

vauntguard. On the other part the Regent led the battle; and the Earl of Morton the vauntguard. But the Regent committed to the Laird of Grange the special care, as being an experimented captain, to oversee every danger, and to ride to every wing, to encourage and make help where greatest need was. He perceived at the first joining, the right wing of the Regent's vauntguard put back, and like to fly, whereof the greatest part were commons of the barony of Renfrew; whereupon he rode to them, and told them that their enemy was already turning their backs, requested them to stay and debate, till he should bring them fresh men forth of the battle. Whither at full speed he did ride alone, and told the Regent that the enemy were shaken, and flying away behind the little village, and desired a few number of fresh men to go with him. Where he found enough willing, as the Lord Lindsay, the Laird of Lochlevin, Sir James Balfour and all the Regent's servants, who followed him with diligence, and reinforced that wing which was beginning to fly; which fresh men with their loose weapons struck the enemy in their flanks and faces, which forced them incontinent to give place and turn back, after long fighting and pushing others to and fro with their spears. There were not many horsemen to pursue after them; and the Regent cried to save and not to kill; and Grange was never cruel, so that there were but few slain and taken. And the only slaughter was at the first rencounter, by the shot of the soldiers which Grange had planted at the lane-head behind some dikes.

After the loss of the battle, her Majesty lost all courage, which she had never done before, and took so great fear, that she never rested till she was in England, thinking herself sure of refuge there, in respect of the fair promises formerly made to her by the Queen of England by word to her Ambassadors,

and by her own hand-writ both before and after she was captive in Lochlevin. But God and the World knows how she was kept and used: for not only she refused to see her, of whom she appeared so oft so desirous of a sight and a meeting, but also caused to keep her prisoner, and at length suffered her life to be taken away, or else it was subtly taken against her intention.

This puts me in remembrance of a tale that my brother Sir Robert told me: the time that he was busiest dealing betwixt the two Queens to entertain their friendship, and draw on their meeting at a place near York, one Bassinton a Scotsman, who had been a traveller, and was learned in high sciences, came to him and said, Good gentleman, I hear so good a report of you, that I love you heartily, and therefore cannot forbear to show you, how that all your upright dealing and honest travel will be in vain: for whereas you believe to obtain advantage for your Queen at the Queen of England's hands, you do but lose your time and your travel: for first they never will meet together, and next there will never be anything else but dissembling and secret hatred for a while, and at length captivity and utter wreck to our Queen from England. My brother answered, he liked not to hear of such devilish news, nor yet would he in any sort credit them, as being false, ungodly, and unlawful for Christians to meddle with. Bassinton answered, Good Mr Melville, entertain not that harsh opinion of me. I am a Christian of your own Religion, and fear God, and purpose never to cast myself on any of the unlawful arts that you mean; but so far as Melancton, who was a godly theologue, hath declared lawful, and written concerning the natural sciences, which are lawful, and daily read in divers Christian universities, in the which, as in all other arts, God gives to some less and to others clearer knowledge, by the which

knowledge I have attained to understand, that at length the kingdom of England shall of right fall to the Crown of Scotland, and that at this instant there are some born who shall bruik lands and heritages in England. But alas, it will cost many their lives, and many bloody battles will be fought ere things be settled or take effect: and by my knowledge, says he, the Spaniards will be helpers, and will take a part to themselves for their labour, which they will be loath to leave again.

After that the Queen's Majesty had demitted the government when she was captive in Lochlevin, in such manner as is rehearsed, my Lord of Murray being the first of the Regents, of whom I have said something already; I intend now to follow forth, and show a part of his proceedings, and to begin where I left, at her Majesty's retreat to England.

After the battle of Langside, the Regent went through the country, and took up the escheats and houses of those who had assisted at the said battle, and caused to cast down divers of their houses, distributing their lands to his servants and dependers.

The Council of England being crafty, and in special the Secretary Cecil, they knew what kind of men had most credit about him for the time, and thereupon took occasion to deal with the least honest, most ambitious and covetous of that number and society, who had joined and banded themselves together to assist each other, whereby to advance themselves, and to disgrace all such true and honest men as had assisted and helped him in all his former troubles. This sort of men were soon persuaded and corrupted to move the Regent to pass into England, and accuse their native Queen before the Queen and Council of England, to the great dishonour of their country and Prince. For the Queen of England, who had no just cause to retain our Queen, who had fled to England in hope

of getting shelter, and the assistance which had been so oft promised her both before and after her captivity in Lochlevin, was very desirous to have some colour and pretext, whereby she might make answer to the Ambassadors of sundry princes, who reproached her for her unkindly and unprincely proceedings therein.

Because the most part of those who had the Regent's ear were gained to this opinion, and the number few who were of a contrary mind, he went forward to England, accompanied with the Earl of Morton, the Lord Lindsay, the Laird of Lochlevin, the Bishop of Orkney, the Abbot of Dunfermling, Mr James Macgil, Mr Henry Balnaves, Mr George Buchanan, the Laird of Pittarrow, George Douglas Bishop of Murray, Mr John Wood the Regent's secretary, a great ringleader, Mr Nicholas Elphinston, Secretary Lidington, Alexander Hay, Alexander Hume of Northberwick, the Laird of Cleesh, with divers other barons and gentlemen, who went there to see the fashion, some to wait upon the Regent and Lords, and some, who could not get the Regent dissuaded from this extreme folly at home, went with him to England to see if by any assistance of such as were friends there to the union of the Isle, and to the title of Scotland, he might be stayed from that accusation. For those who were the Queen's Lords, who came there to defend the Queen's part, had no credit nor familiarity with the chief faction in England concerning the title, nor durst open their minds but to such as by long acquaintance they were well assured of their honesty and secrecy. The names of the Queen's Lords were, the Lord Herreis, the Lord Boyd, the Lord Fleming, the Lord Livingston, the Bishop of Ross, and some others, with my brother Sir Robert, who attended to do all the good he could.

The Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and several other counsellors were sent down to York to

hear the Regent's accusation, and to be as judges between the King and Queen's Lords.

The first day of meeting, the Duke of Norfolk required that the Regent should make homage in the King's name to the Crown of England, thinking he had some ground to demand the same, seeing the said Regent there to plead his cause before the Council of England. Whereat the Regent grew red, and knew not what to answer; but Secretary Lidington took up the speech, and said, "That in restoring again to Scotland the lands of Huntington, Cumberland and Northumberland, with such other lands as Scotland did of old possess in England, that homage should gladly be made for the said lands: but as to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, it was freer than England had been lately, when it paid St Peter's penny to the Pope."

It appeared still that the Duke drave off time with us, as having no inclination to enter upon the terrors of accusation. What was in his head appeared afterward; but he was long in a suspense with whom to deal: for he thought (as he afterward said) he neither did see honest men nor wise men. At last he resolved to enter in conference with Secretary Lidington, to whom he said, "That before that time he had ever esteemed him a wise man, until that now he came before strangers to accuse the Queen his mistress, as if England were judge over the princes of Scotland. How could we find in our hearts to dishonour our King's mother, or how could we answer afterward for what we were doing, seeing it tended to hazard the King her son's right to England, intending to bring his mother's honesty in question? It had been rather the duty of you her subjects, says he, to cover her imperfections if she had any, remitting unto God and time to punish and put order thereto, who is the only judge over princes."

Lidington, as he might well do, purged himself, and declared he came there to endeavour to stop the said accusation, which the Laird of Grange, and divers others, had endeavoured to do in vain, before the Regent's coming out of Scotland: and that now he would be glad of any help to hinder that shameful deliberation of the Regent's, pushed thereto by a company of greedy, rash and careless counsellors, the most part of them his enviers and secret enemies: praying the Duke not to conceive such an evil opinion of him; but requesting him to draw the Regent apart, and enter with him upon those terms which afterward the Regent would show him, and he should amplify and set it out the best he could.

The Duke asked, "If the Regent would keep secret?" And being thereof assured by Lidington, the next day he took occasion to enter into discourse with the Regent, about their first friendship and familiarity contracted at Leith during the siege, and helping to put the Frenchmen out of Scotland. Then, after that the Regent had promised secrecy, and assured him that their first friendship should stand till the end of his life, the Duke began to declare, how "That he would be a faithful subject to the Queen his mistress so long as she lived; but that she was too careless what might come after her about the well and quiet of her country: though it was the interest of the kingdom of England more to notice the same, by determining the succession, to prevent troubles that might otherwise ensue. That they had divers times essayed to do something therein at every Parliament, but that their Queen had thereat evidenced a great discontent, and hindered the same, showing thereby that she cared not what blood was shed after her for the right and title of the Crown of England, which consists only in the persons of the Queen and King of Scotland her son; which had been put out of doubt

ere then, if matters had not fallen out so unhappily at home; and yet he and other noblemen of England, as fathers of the country, were minded to be careful thereof, watching their opportunity. But that they wondered what could move him to come there and accuse his Queen; for albeit she had done, or suffered harm to be done to the King her husband, yet there was respect to be had to the Prince her son, upon whom he and many in England had fixed their eyes, as Mr Melvil, who had been late Ambassador there, could testify. He therefore wished that the Queen should not be accused, nor dishonoured for the King her son's cause, and for respect to the right they both had to succeed to the Crown of England."

And further the Duke said, "I am sent to hear your accusation; but neither will I, nor the Queen my mistress, give out any sentence upon your accusation. And that you may understand the verity of this point more clearly, you shall do well the next time that I require you before the council to give in your accusation in writing; to demand again my mistress's seal and hand-writing (before you show your folly) that in case you accuse, she shall immediately convict and give out her sentence according to your probation; otherwise, that you will not open your pack: which if her Majesty shall refuse to grant unto you, which undoubtedly she will do, then assure yourself that my information is true, take occasion hereupon to stay from further accusation."

The Regent took very well with this advice of the Duke's, and kept it secret from all his company save Secretary Lidington and me, to whom that same night he imparted it, showing us his inclination to follow the same; in which resolution we confirmed him. At the next meeting with the Council, when the Duke demanded the accusation to be given in, the Regent asked for his security the Queen of England's seal and

hand-writing, as was before advised: of which the rest of his faction gave Lidington the full blame, because it drew on a delay until the post was sent to the Court, and returned the Queen's answer. Being come, it was told, "That she was a true princess, her word and promise would be abundantly sufficient." The Secretary Cecil and Mr John Wood secretary to the Regent, thought strange of this manner of procedure; therefore it was advised to desire the Lords on both sides to go from York toward the Court, that the matter might there be treated, where the Queen was able to give more ready answers and replies.

In the meantime the Regent finding the information the Duke of Norfolk gave him concerning the Queen of England's answer to be true, he entered further into communication with him, and in presence of Lidington, it was agreed betwixt them as followeth: that he in noways should accuse the Queen; that the Duke should obtain to him the Queen's favour with a confirmation of the regency. The Duke and he were to be as sworn brothers of one Religion, shooting continually at one mark, with the mutual intelligence of one another's minds; the one to rule Scotland, the other to rule England, to the glory of God, and well of both the countries and their princes, so that posterity should report them the happiest two instruments that ever were bred in Britain.

The Duke was then the greatest subject in Europe, not being a free Prince. For he ruled the Queen, and all those who were most familiar with her. He also ruled the Council; and ruled two factions in England, both Protestants and Papists, with the city of London and whole Commons. The great men who were Papists were all his near kinsmen, whom he entertained with great wisdom and discretion; the Protestants had such proof of his godly life and conversation, that they loved him entirely.

The Regent being arrived at the Court of England, which was for the time at Hampton-court, he was daily pressed to give in his accusation, especially by those who were about him, when all thought strange that he was so slow of doing thereof, until they were advertised by one of the Lords of the Queen's faction of all that had passed betwixt the Regent and the Duke of Norfolk. For the Duke by a secret hand had advertised our Queen; and she again had showed it to one of her most familiars, who advertised the Earl of Morton thereof. He took this very ill, that the Regent had done this without acquainting him, or any of his society of his design. But ere he, or any of his company would seem to understand anything of the matter, they laid their heads together, and caused Mr John Wood to inform Secretary Cecil of all that had passed, desiring him to press forward the accusation, wherein of himself he was abundantly earnest. They again left nothing undone for their part to effectuate the same, putting him in hope that the Queen would give him her hand-writing and seal, that she should convict the Queen in case he accused her. Others of the finest of them persuaded him that she would never give her hand-writing or seal for that end, putting him to a strait to see what he would do in case he obtained his desire. Mr John Wood said, " that it was fit to carry in all the writs to the Council," and he would keep the accusation in his bosom, and would not deliver it till first the thing demanded of the Queen was granted. The rest of the Regent's Lords and Counsellors had concluded among them, that so soon as the Duke of Norfolk, as chief of the Council, would inquire for the accusation, they should all with one voice cry and persuade the Regent to go forward with it.

Secretary Lidington and I minded the Regent how far he had obliged himself to the Duke of Norfolk.

He said, " he would do well enough, and that it would not come to that length." So soon as he with his Council were within the council-house, the Duke of Norfolk asked for the accusation; the Regent desired again the assurance of conviction by writing and seal, as is said. It was answered again, " That the Queen's Majesty's word, being a true princess, was sufficient." Then all the Council cried out, " Would he mistrust the Queen, who had given such proof of her friendship to Scotland?" The Regent's Council cried out also in the same manner. Then Secretary Cecil asked, if they had the accusation there? " Yes," says Mr John Wood; and with that he plucks it out of his bosom, " But I will not deliver it, says he, till her Majesty's hand-writing and seal be delivered to my Lord Regent for what he demands." Then the Bishop of Orkney snatcheth the writing out of his hand, " Let me have it," says he, " I shall present it." Mr John Wood run after him, as if he would have taken it again. Forward goes the Bishop to the council-table, and gives in the accusation. Then cries out the Chamberlain of England: " Well done, Bishop, thou art the frankest fellow among them all, none of them will make thy leap good; " scorning his leaping out of the Laird of Grange's ship. Mr Henry Balnaves only had made resistance, and called for Secretary Lidington, who waited without the council-house. But so soon as Mr Henry Balnaves had called for him, he came in and whispered in the Regent's ear, ' That he had shamed himself, and put his life in danger, by the loss of so good a friend as the Duke of Norfolk, and that he had lost his reputation for ever.'

The Regent, who, by his facility, had been brought to break with the Duke of Norfolk, repented himself thereof, so soon as Lidington acquainted him with the danger, and desired the accusation to be rendered up to him again, alleging, ' He had some more to add

thereto.' They answered, 'They would hold what they had, and were ready to receive any addition when he should please to give it in.' The Duke of Norfolk had much ado to keep his countenance. Mr John Wood winked upon Secretary Cecil; who smiled again upon him. The rest of the Regent's company were laughing one upon another; only Secretary Lidington had a sad heart. The Regent came forth of the council-house with tears in his eyes, and went to his lodging at Kingston, where his factious friends had much ado to comfort him.

The Queen of England having obtained her intent, received thereby great contentment through the advantage she thereby received. First, she thought she had matter for her, to show wherefore she detained the Queen, when she was challenged by the foreign ambassadors upon that account. Then she was glad of the Queen's dishonour; but in her mind she detested the Regent and all his company, and would notice him no more. She sent also incontinent to the Queen to comfort her, praying her to look on herself in a better case, albeit for a while restrained of her liberty, than to be in Scotland, among so unworthy subjects, who had accused her falsely and wrongfully, as she was assured; and that neither should they be the better, nor she the worse for anything they had done: for she would neither be judge, nor give out any sentence thereupon; nor should any part of the said false accusation be made known by her, or her council, to any: praying her to take patience in her gentle ward, where she was nearer to get the crown of England set upon her head, in case of her decease, who was but the eldest sister.

Thus the Regent won no other thing for his labour, but to be despised by the Queen and Council of England, detested by the Duke of Norfolk, and reproached by his best and truest friends, suffered

to lie a long time at Kingston, in great displeasure and fear, without money to spend, and without hope to get any from the Queen. In the meantime, the agreement betwixt him and the Duke of Norfolk, was told the Queen. For the Earl of Morton caused a minister called John Willock, to declare what had passed betwixt the Regent and the Duke of Norfolk to the Earl of Huntington, who caused my Lord of Leicester to tell it to the Queen.

The Duke of Norfolk finding himself disappointed by the Regent, and his purposes discovered to the Queen, began to boast and speak plain language, 'That he would serve and honour the Queen his mistress so long as she lived, but after her decease he would set the crown of England upon the Queen of Scotland's head, as lawful heir.' And this he avowed to Secretary Cecil, desiring him to go and prattle that language again to the Queen. The Secretary Cecil answered, 'That he would be no taleteller to the Queen of him, but would concur with him in any course, and serve him in anything wherein he would employ him.' He threatened also Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who he supposed would be a true and devoted servant to the Queen: so that Sir Nicholas was necessitated to seek after his favour by the means of the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, who was also his friend, albeit he durst not conceal from the Queen that whereof the Earl of Huntington had advertised him, seeing he had desired him to declare the same to her Majesty.

The Duke of Norfolk understanding that his whole purposes were discovered, stood not to acknowledge to the Queen, 'That during her lifetime he would never offend her, but serve and honour her, and after her the Queen of Scotland, as in his opinion truest heir, and the only means for eschewing of civil wars, and great blood-shed that might otherwise fall out.'

Now, albeit the Queen of England liked not that language; yet she would not appear to find fault with it for the time.

Now, matters being cast loose in this manner between the Regent and the Duke, and the Regent in great distress, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton being a man of a deep reach, and great prudence and discretion, who had ever travelled for the union of this Isle: after that he was agreed with the Duke, and perceived that the Earls of Leicester, Pembroke, Secretary Cecil, and the rest of the Court and Commons were all for the Duke, and that the Queen durst not find fault with him, he devised and effectuated a new friendship betwixt the Regent and the Duke, who was unwilling again to enter with the Regent; yet at length he suffered himself to be persuaded.

The Lord Regent, on the other hand, being destitute of all friendship in England for the time, and indigent of money, thought he would be very fortunate if again he could obtain the Duke's friendship and pardon; so he was brought easily and secretly unto the Duke by Sir Nicholas. At which time he granted his offence, excusing himself the best he could, by the craft and importunity of some of his company.

The Duke helped him to frame his excuse, alleging, 'that he knew how his gentle nature was abused by the craft and concurrence of some of the council of England, who had joined with some about him. That if he would, for the future, keep touch and be secret, they should take a course with all those who had drawn on that draught.' The Regent promised as far as could be devised, so that a greater friendship was packed up between them than ever. The Duke had before told him 'That he was resolved to marry the Queen our mistress, and that he should never permit her to come to Scotland, nor yet that he should ever rebel against the Queen of England, during her time.

Also that he had a daughter, who would be meeter for the King than any other, for many reasons.' Now the Duke took in hand to cause the Queen his mistress to give unto my Lord Regent 2000 pounds Sterling; for the which sum he became cautioner, and was afterward compelled to pay it.

After that the Regent had got this money, and had taken his leave of the Queen, he was advised by such as had great credit about him, to tell the Queen all things that had passed again betwixt the Duke and him. And to do it the more covertly, it was devised, that the Queen of England should send for him, pretending to give him some admonition about some order to be observed upon the Border. This being done, and all things discovered to the Queen, with a promise, so soon as he came to Scotland, and had received any letters from the Duke by cyphers or otherwise, he should send them to England by an express; in the meantime the Duke wrote unto our Queen, advertising her again of the new friendship between him and the Regent, who was become very penitent, and had been formerly deceived by craftier men than himself, desiring her to let him pass by without any harm done to him or any in his company by the way.

At that time the Duke commanded over all the north parts of England, where the Queen our mistress was kept, and so might have taken her out when he pleased. And when he was angry at the Regent, he had appointed the Earl of Westmorland to lie in his way, and cut off himself, and so many of his company as were most bent upon the Queen's accusation. But, after the last agreement, the Duke sent and discharged the said Earl from doing us any harm: yet, upon our return, the Earl came in our way with a great company of horse, to signify to us that we were at his mercy.

After the Regent's safe return to Scotland, Mr John

Wood his secretary procured, upon the first occasion, to be sent to England, with all the letters that had been sent from the Duke of Norfolk, which could tend to undo him. He desired Mr Henry Balnaves to cause the Regent to give him the Bishopric of Murray, void for the time, though he pretended it was neither for ambition nor covetousness of the rents, but that he might have an honourable style, to set out the better his ambassage. The said Mr Henry, being indeed such a man as Mr John would appeared to have been, was very angry, and never liked him after that. My Lord Lindsay vented himself, that he was one of the number who gave the Regent counsel so to do, alleging, that such promises, as were made to the Duke of Norfolk for fear of life, ought not to be kept.

A little after that Mr John was come back to Scotland, well rewarded for his pains, the Duke was sent for by the Queen to come to Court. Whereupon first he posted in haste to Secretary Cecil, to demand his counsel; for he reposed much upon him, they being joined in one course. The other made answer, 'That there was no danger; he might come and go at his pleasure, no man would or durst offend him': which made the Duke ride up quietly, only with his own train; whereas otherwise he would have been well accompanied. In the meantime Secretary Cecil informed the Queen, 'That the necessity of the time obliged her not to omit this occasion, but to take the matter stoutly upon herself, and incontinent command her guard to lay hands upon the Duke, or else no other durst do it; which if she did not at this time, her crown would be in peril.' The Queen following this counsel, the Duke was taken and secured, when he thought all England was at his devotion; who after long captivity was executed, ending his life devoutly in the Reformed Religion.

Shortly after Mr John Wood's returning out of England, there was a great convention held at Perth, where the Regent was resolved to accuse Secretary Lidington, as being of counsel with the Duke of Norfolk. But he had so many friends for the time, that they durst not lay hands on him: albeit from that hour forth, he retired from the Court, and remained with the Earl of Athole, where the Regent entertained him with friendly letters. And upon a time being at Stirling, he wrote for him to come and make a dispatch for England; whither being come, Captain Crawford was directed to accuse him before the Privy Council, of the late King's murder; and being accused of so odious a crime, he was committed to ward. Sir James Balfour was also taken out of his own house, when he expected no such thing.

Then my Lord of Down[1] wrote to the Laird of Grange to be upon his guard, for the Regent was resolved to take the Castle of Edinburgh from him, and make the Laird of Drumwhasel captain thereof. Which advertisement he had formerly given to Grange, as also of the design to take the Secretary and Sir James Balfour. But at the first he would not give credit thereto; but now when he did see the advertisement take effect, he began to think that the Regent was strangely misled. He would have been satisfied to have wanted the Castle, and to have left the Court, were it not for the desire he had to save the lives of Secretary Lidington and Sir James Balfour, having upon his honour engaged to protect the said Sir James upon his rendering up the Castle to him. He knew they were wrongfully pursued, only by the malice and envy of their enemies for their offices.

Sir James Balfour being taken, sent unto the Laird of Grange, minding him how he had joined with the Lords and Regent, upon the trust he reposed on his

[1] Doune.

fidelity, more than on all their seals and hand-writings which he had to produce. Whereupon the Laird of Grange sent a gentleman to the Regent: but the Regent purged himself, and alleged the Council were so banded together against the Secretary and Sir James Balfour, 'that it consisted not in his power to preserve them from prison, seeing they were accused for the King's murder, against his will; but Grange should know his honest part thereof at meeting; praying him in the meantime to suspend his judgment.' Nevertheless the Regent and his Council were determined to proceed to process the two prisoners upon their lives, till Grange sent again and desired the like justice to be done upon the Earl of Morton and Mr Archibald Douglas: for he offered to fight with Mr Archibald, and the Lord Herreis with the Earl of Morton, upon that head; 'That they were upon the Council, and consequently art and part of the King's murder.' This stayed their process at that time. And the Regent still alleged, that the Lords had taken them against his will, and that he should send Sir James Balfour to the Castle of St Andrews, and should bring Secretary Lidington to Edinburgh, and deliver him unto the Laird of Grange to be kept.

So the Regent came to Edinburgh, and brought the Secretary with him, intending, as Grange was informed, to make the Secretary an instrument to draw Grange out of the Castle to the town the next morning, to receive the Secretary to be carried up to the Castle, and then to retain Grange also till the Castle should be delivered unto the Laird of Drumwhasel to be keeper thereof, and to send Grange home to his house, and reward him with the Priory of Pittenweem. But the Earl of Morton had appointed four men to slay Grange at the entry of the Regent's lodging, without the Regent's knowledge. But Grange was loath yet to believe the worst of the Regent: and

being of opinion that the Regent's gentle nature was forced by the Lords, as he had sent him word; understanding that they intended to carry the Secretary to Tantallon, he came down out of the Castle with a company, and took the Secretary out of the hands of his keepers, and convoyed him up to the Castle. For he thought, if it were true that the Regent said, that he was forced by the Lords against his will to let the Secretary be retained after that he was accused, the Regent would be glad that he had revenged his quarrel upon the Lords, by taking the Secretary out of their hands, whereof he might justly pretend ignorance: and if the Regent would be dissatisfied with his carriage therein, it would be a certain token of his dissimulation. In that case Grange thought he did a good deed to save his friend's life, and so he would have good ground to believe divers intelligences which formerly he would not credit, and therefore he would be upon his guard in time coming.

The Regent and his counsellors, when they understood that Grange had taken the Secretary to the Castle, were in great perplexity, supposing all their counsels to be disclosed. They knew not how to help the matter; but they advised the Regent to cover his anger until a fit opportunity, causing him to go up to the Castle the next morning: for he durst trust Grange, though Grange would no more trust him. At meeting, the Regent gave him more fair words than he was wont to do, which Grange took in evil part.

After this there were many devices how to entrap Grange some time in his down-coming to the Regent: but he was ever advertised, and upon his guard; so as the Regent lost daily of his best friends, and the number of his enemies increased. For the Duke of Chastleherault (who was agreed with him by the intercession of the Lord Herreis), when the said Duke and the Lord Herreis came to Edinburgh, as was

appointed at the agreement, to concur with the Regent in Council, and otherwise, for the quieting of the country, they were both warded in the Castle, against promise. Which when the Laird of Grange found fault with, Mr John Wood said, 'I marvel at you that you will be offended at this: for how shall we, who are my Lord's dependers, get rewards, but by the wreck of such men?' 'Yea (said Grange), is that your holiness? I see nothing among you but envy, greediness and ambition, whereby you will wreck a good Regent and ruin the country.' This was long before the taking of the Secretary, and increased the hatred of a wicked society against Grange, who upon all occasions evidenced his detesting their selfish designs who were dependers upon the Regent: which was one of the faults also they had against the Secretary, as also because his wit so far excelled theirs. The captivity of the Duke and my Lord Herreis made many enemies to the Regent, who took the greater boldness to conspire against him, when they perceived him to lose and cast off his best friends.

It was a grievous thing to see that good Regent, of himself so well inclined to do good offices in Religion and Commonwealth, so led after other men's vain pretences and affections, to his own wreck, to the wreck of many worthy persons, and to their ruin at length who led him in these ways.

He grew to give great ear to flatterers, and would not suffer his true friends to tell him the verity. The observation hereof made many conjecture that his ruin was at hand; and I, among others, devised a present remedy for his preservation, which was this: I knew that the taking Lidington to the Castle sunk deepest in the Regent's heart; and that the false practices and wreckful fetches of such as had taught him to dissemble moved Grange, who had been his greatest friend, to be jealous of him; the noticing whereof

gave ground to his enemies to conspire against him.

First, I requested the Regent to remember the false practices that some about him had sundry times used formerly to his great displeasure, and to consider that they occasioned all the jealousies and suspicions that were fallen out between him and his friends, which might encourage his enemies to take some wicked enterprise in hand against his person. To remedy this, I proposed it as fit, that Lidington should go into France, finding caution not to return to Scotland under the penalty of 20,000 pounds, and withal giving his son in pledge for further security, and that he should practise nothing against the quiet of the country: and that Sir James Balfour should be set at liberty, or banished after that same manner; for he had already won the Regent's familiars with great sums of gold, which had stenched their wrath against him; which Lidington would not do, albeit Sir James had sent him his advice to do as he had done: these two being freed, and out of the way, the Laird of Grange should deliver to him the Castle of Edinburgh, to make captain thereof whom he pleased; that so the whole country might see, that all was in his power, and at his command.

This I thought the best way to reduce again the opinion of the people, and to scar all his enemies from their desperate enterprises. His answer was, 'That he did bear no ill-will to Lidington; that he would not press him to go out of the country: as for Sir James Balfour, he would set him at liberty: and for Grange, he had too many obligations to him, and too great proofs of his fidelity, to mistrust him; that he was never minded to take the Castle from him; and if it were out of his hands, he would give him the keeping thereof before any other.'

He denied that he had any suspicion either of Grange

or the Secretary, and thereupon went up to the Castle, and conferred friendly with them of all his affairs, with a merry countenance, and casting in many merry purposes, minding them of many straits and dangers they had formerly been together engaged in. So far was he instructed to dissemble: yet the violence he did himself herein was easily perceived by such who had been long acquainted with him, and had been his chief advisers under God; the Secretary by his wisdom, and Grange by his valour and fidelity, who had both such notable qualities as procured them the envy of wicked men, who by their continual flattery and false reports put them out of his favour, and then, like a weak house wanting his sustaining pillars, he fell.

Himself was at the first of a gentle nature, well inclined, good, wise, stout. In his first uprising, his hap was to light upon the best sort of company: his beginning was full of adversity: true honest men stuck by him, because he was religiously educated, and devoutly inclined. But when he became Regent, flatterers for their profit drew near him, and puffed him up into too good an opinion of himself. His old true friends who would reprove and admonish him, thereby lost his favour. I would sometimes say to him, 'that he was like an unskilful player in a tennis-court, running ever after the ball; whereas an expert player will discern where the ball will light, or where it will rebound, and with small travel will let it fall on his hand or racket.' This I said, because he took very great pains in his own person to small effect. After that he had gotten divers advertisements of his enemies' conspiracies, yet he would credit nothing but what came from his own familiars, who told him nothing but of fair weather, and of the best government that could be, and so rendered him careless and secure: which encouraged the good-man of Bodwelhaugh, called [James] Hamilton, to lie in his way as he was

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passing through Linlithgow, who shot him, whereof he died that same night. All his counsellors and familiars were also well advertised, as he was, both of the man, the place and the time, and yet were so careless of him, that they would not be at the pains to search the house where the man lay to shoot him, but suffered him to escape upon a speedy horse.

I have written thus far of him because every one knows not the verity how he was led away; and because St Augustine says, 'that all kind of ignorance is neither worthy of pardon nor excuse, but only such as have not the means to be instructed, nor to get knowledge.' I was somtimes compelled to recite divers sentences of Solomon to this good Regent (for so he was, and will ever deservedly be called): how that 'an heavy yoke was ordained for the sons of Adam, from the day they go out of their mother's womb, till the day that they return to the mother of all things; from him who is clothed in blue silk and weareth a crown, even to him who weareth simple linen; wrath, envy, trouble and unquietness, rigour, strife, and fear of death in the time of rest.' Again, 'Be diligent to know the state of thy flock; for there are some who see but with other men's eyes, who hear but with other men's ears; these must needs be ignorant: such a man is commonly made a wicked instrument to fulfil the appetites of envious, vengeable and greedy counsellors.' And Solomon says, 'that for the transgression of such wicked counsellors, the land changeth many princes.' And again, 'The prudent man seeth the plague, and eschews it; but fools go on still, and are punished. Wisdom, knowledge and understanding of the law is of the lord; error, ignorance and darkness are appointed unto sinners for punishments and plagues. The foolish will believe everything, and the mouths of fools are fed with foolishness.' So the prudent will consider his paths, and can perceive

that some are counsellors for themselves: therefore says Solomon, 'I wisdom dwell with prudence,' and can find forth the right knowledge of counsellors; as if he would say, Who have wisdom purified with prudence, will not be so easily carried away with flatterers, as a number of facile princes, who promote them above faithful friends and true servants, who reprove them for their unseemly proceedings: against the rule of Isocrates, who admonisheth the king 'to love and retain as his truest friends such as lovingly and modestly will correct his faults'; and as Plutarch saith unto Trajan, 'Follow the counsel of those who love thee, rather than of those whom thou lovest'; and as Theopompus, being demanded, 'How a prince should best rule?' answered, 'In permitting his best servants to tell him the verity of his estate.' As the King of the people is; so are his officers: if the officers be wicked; so is the ruler thought to be. "How are flatterers (said I to the Regent) flown away with your wonted humility, and who hath puffed you up so, that you will not suffer a friendly reproof? Says not Solomon, 'If thou seest a man wise in his own conceit, there is more hope to be had of a fool than of him. Exalt not thyself in the day of honour; for pride goeth before destruction, and an high mind before a fall?' Yet hear counsel and receive instruction; let reason go before every enterprise, and counsel before every action. When you followed the counsel of your old experimented friends, your affairs prospered: since you left them, to follow the flattering fetches of your wonted foes (who are now become your chiefest counsellors since you have been made Regent), your credit decays, and all your business goes back. I did show you lately, coming from Dumfries, in what danger your estate and person were; to which you have taken little notice: which danger appears to me to be ever the longer the greater, without speedy

repentance, and the hasty embracing of such remedies as I mentioned for the time. Therefore take this better to heart, and in good part off his hand, of whose fidelity to you, you have had so good proof in all your adversities. Solomon says more, 'Receive instruction, that thou mayst be wise in thy latter end.' And, above all this, pray to the most high, that he may direct thy way in truth; which I pray God grant you the grace to do."

The most part of these sentences, drawn out of the Bible, I used to rehearse to him at several occasions; and he took better with these off my hands, who he knew had no by-end, than if they had proceeded from the most learned philosopher. Therefore, at his desire, I promised to put them in writing, to give him them to keep in his pocket; but he was slain before I could meet with him.

After the decease of the Regent, England sent the Earl of Sussex to Berwick; whither the Earl of Lenox came also at that same time as being sent for by the Lords of the King's faction, to be made Regent in place of the Earl of Murray. The Earl of Sussex had with him the forces of the North, as if he had some enterprise to do, and to take some advantage at this time, when the country wanted a Regent.

About that same time, so many of the Lords, as were banded and professed the Queen's authority caused to proclaim the same at Linlithgow. As yet they of the Castle at Edinburgh professed the King's authority, albeit there were secret jealousies betwixt them, and so many of the rest as had counselled the late Regent to apprehend the Secretary Lidington, and Sir James Balfour, and who would also have ruined Grange, because he appeared concerned in them two, and also because his virtues were envied, and his charge coveted by others.

They who were within the said Castle for the time,

were my Lord Duke of Chastleherault, and my Lord Herreis, warded wrongfully as I have said; therefore the Laird of Grange obtained a warrant from the rest of the King's Lords to set him at liberty. The Lord Hume was there to assist with those of the castle, with the Laird of Grange, the Secretary Lidington, his brother the Prior of Coldingham, three of my brothers, Sir Robert, Captain David, and Sir Andrew Melville, the Lairds of Drylaw, and Pittarrow, Sir James Balfour, the Lairds of Ferniherst, Buccleugh, Wormiston, Parbroth, and divers other noblemen and Barons, who came there at all occasions, and were ready at a call when they had to do.

This company directed me to Berwick, toward the Earl of Sussex, to know what he intended to do with his forces; whether to assist any of the two factions, or to agree them? I was friendly received by him, well lodged, and my expenses by him defrayed, wanting nothing. He sent me his own night-gown furred with rich furrings, to make use of so long as I abode there. Albeit I knew him to be a great enemy to all Scotsmen, he appeared desirous to enter in great familiarity with me, and as if he was desirous I should believe he had communicated to me his most secret thoughts, alleging his plainness to me, was upon the report he had heard by sundry of his countrymen to my advantage.

He said, "That his coming with his forces was not to assist any faction, nor to decide questions and titles that were among us, but to serve the Queen his mistress, in obeying her commands: that if he did any enterprise at that time against any Scotsman, it would be against his heart. That of all Scotsmen, he liked best of those who were within the Castle of Edinburgh and their dependers, especially because he knew them to have been friends to the Duke of Norfolk his near cousin, whose part he said he would plainly have

taken, if the said Duke had out of his own mouth communicated his enterprise to him, as he had foolishly done by a gentleman of his, to whose credit he durst not commit the secrecy of that matter, being of itself of so great concernment as stood him upon his life and heritage. And that albeit he with his forces came not to set out, nor to fortify any faction in Scotland, yet he durst be plain with me privately, as with a true friend, to declare that he did esteem the Queen of Scotland and the Prince her son righteous heirs to the Crown of England, which his judgment he had shown to few of his own countrymen."

So I returned with no direct answer, but with a firm opinion, that he was sent to appear to set forward the Earl of Lenox to be Regent, and to send word to the Lords of the King's side, that he would assist them, and send in Mr Randolph thither with the Earl of Lenox; and yet to deal with the Lords of the Queen's faction, to encourage them to hold forward their factious course, because the said Mr Randolph had a great dealing with the house of Hamilton, as he who convoyed the Earl of Arran, now visited with the hand of God, out of France through England home to Scotland, to assist the Congregation. He knew also what old and long hatred had been betwixt the houses of Lenox and Hamilton; and was deliberately directed, secretly to kindle a fire of discord betwixt two strong factions in Scotland, which could not be easily quenched; and to confirm the Lord Hume, who was not yet resolved to take part with the Queen's faction, which England thought had not money enough yet to sustain long strife against the King's faction.

The Earl of Sussex entered the Merse with his forces, and took the castle of Hume, and Fastcastle, full of riches and precious moveables, that way moving the Lord Hume to take plain part with the Hamiltons

and the Queen's faction. Whereby it may be seen, that the conclusion was to hold this country in discord, by the craft of the Council of England for the time, as I have before mentioned; and which was now put in practice, incontinent after the decease of the Earl of Murray, for albeit the Earl of Lenox had his lady, children, and estate in England, they would not credit him, supposing he would be a true Scotsman, as he proved indeed afterwards.

I being in Berwick, when the Earl of Lenox was so far toward Scotland to be Regent, I thought it my duty to visit him, for at his first in-coming before the marriage of his son the Lord Darnly with the Queen, he sent this present Colonel Stuart for my brother Sir Robert and me; and because my brother was absent, I went to him alone. At which time he told me, 'that his long absence out of the country had made him as a stranger to the condition of the country, and that his lady at his parting from her, had desired him to take my brother's council and mine in all his affairs as her friends and kinsmen': so that being familiar enough with him formerly, I visited him at this time, and told him the state of the country. I dissuaded him from taking upon him the regiment, fearing that it might cost him his life, as matters were like to be handled, as I should inform him more at length, being once at home. As for myself, I promised to serve and assist him, albeit I could not find that same resolution in those of the Castle of Edinburgh.

He thanked me, promising me to be my friend, so far as lay in his power, upon which he gave me his hand, then he inquired, 'What was the cause, that those who were in the Castle would oppose him?' I answered, 'For no particular prejudice they had against himself, but because the Lords who had sent for him, without acquainting them therewith were not their friends, and they suspected that in process of

time, they would move him to be their enemy.' He said, 'that the Laird of Grange had been always his great friend, and had done him formerly great kindness.' I said, 'I hoped he should yet be his friend, after that he had settled himself in the regiment, and might have time to be rightly informed of every man's part.'

Returning back from Berwick, I met the Abbot of Dunfermling, sent by the King's Lords to England, to meet with the Earl of Lenox in his passing by. His chief commission was (so far as I could afterward inform myself) to desire the Queen of England to deliver the Queen of Scotland to be kept by the King's Lords here at home, seeing that she would not proceed otherwise, according to the accusation given in against her, the time my Lord Murray was there. Whereto the Queen of England made answer, 'If they would find her sufficient pledges for the security of the Queen's life, she would deliver her to be kept by them.' The Abbot alleged, 'That would be hard to do, for what in case the Queen die in the meantime?' She answered, 'My Lord, I believed you had been a wise man; you would press me to speak what is noways necessary: you may know, that I cannot but for my honour require pledges for that end. I think you may judge also of yourself what might be best for me.' Her meaning in this might be easily judged and understood.

The Earl of Lenox came to Edinburgh shortly after me; and after he had accepted the government, his first enterprise was to take Brechin, which was kept by some companies of footmen, listed by the Earl of Huntly to assist the Queen's faction. These soldiers, being advertised that the new Regent was coming to pursue them, fled, except a few who kept the kirk and steeple, who were all hanged. I had made myself ready to ride with the Regent, but Mr

Randolph the English ambassador, who came with the Earl of Lenox, appearing to set him forward with his power, hindered me from prosecuting that intention, fearing that I would be an instrument of persuading the Laird of Grange and those in the Castle, to come to an amicable agreement with the Regent. For if those of the Castle and their dependers had assisted the Regent, the Queen's faction were so few and weak, that they would not have been able to make a party answerable to the King's faction, who were greatest in number, and had the hearts of the subjects on their side.

I was very loath to stay behind the Regent, both because I had promised to assist him, and also because I had obtained a promise of the Bishop of St Andrews, of the lands of Lethem, given by the Earl of Murray to Mr Henry Balnaves, whereof I had no lease, but possession, by reason that the Bishop was for the time in Dunbarton forfaulted: so the said lands were in the Regent's power to dispose to any other, yet he had promised that I should enjoy it. I told Mr Randolph, that the said lands might be in danger to be disposed, in case I were absent from the Regent. 'Tush,' says he, 'I am tutor at this time to the Regent, I shall not only warrant you that, but shall cause you get a better gift.' In the meantime, he promised to write a letter unto the Regent (who had already taken journey) to secure the same to me and to let him know that he had stayed me, to draw on an agreement between my friends in the Castle and him, therefore desiring him not to dispose the said lands to any other.

But though I knew him to be a double dealer, and a sower of discord, yet I could not believe that he would abuse me in anything, having received so great obligations from me during his banishment in France, for Religion, during the reign of Queen Mary. Neither

would I blot paper with this much concerning my particular were it not to declare the strange practices of princes in matters of state. Now at Mr Randolph's desire I stayed. His first proposition to me, was to desire the Captain of the Castle to agree with, and assist the Regent. I told him, 'that I supposed he might be brought to that through time, but not so hastily.' And that same answer I brought to him from him, with a request from the Laird of Grange, that he would be plain with him; for there had been also great friendship betwixt them in France. After some ceremonies and protestations of secrecy, he said, 'Tell your friend this from Mr Randolph, but not from the English Ambassador, that there is no lawful authority in Scotland but the Queen's; she will prevail at length, and therefore it is his interest, as the safest course, to join himself to her faction.' This was the help he made to the Regent, who believed that his only anbassage was to advance his authority. I appeared to be very well satisfied with this wholesome advice, and went up to the Castle, and told the Captain and his associates no more than I assured them of, at my return from Berwick.

The Laird of Grange was still resolved to own the King's authority, seeing to be factious under pertext of owning the Queen, during her absence and captivity, might do her more ill than good, and occasion great bloodshed among the subjects, by the malice of the ringleaders of the Court of England, and partialities of a few in Scotland, and was therefore expecting a fit opportunity of making agreement betwixt the parties. In the meantime, I went up and down betwixt those of the Castle, and Mr Randolph, who gave me another commission, to wit, in case the two Queens of England and Scotland agree betwixt themselves, to appoint an Englishman Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, and send unto him a letter subscribed by both

their hands to him, to render up the same to him to whom they commissionate him to deliver it, whether he would for great advantage to himself give it to the person who should be appointed? This in great anger he refused to hear; and this was all the good agreement that Mr Randolph and I made during the Regent's absence. And instead of minding the Regent not to dispose the foresaid lands, he dealt with the tutor of Pitcur,[1] that he might seek a gift of the said lands from the Regent, informing him that I wanted a right thereto.

When the Regent was returned to Edinburgh, I remembered Mr Randolph of his promise, and informed him a way how I might get them. He answered, that he found the Regent so stubborn, and of so ill a nature, that he could not deal with him. Then I told him, that I was abundantly sensible of his practices; and that whereas it appeared, that he would cause me not only to abandon the Regent, but to be instrumental in persuading the Laird of Grange to be upon a contrary faction, I would not be that instrument, neither would I desert the King's interest, though he should cause all the rest of my lands to be taken from me.

Seeing that Grange could not be moved to join with the Queen's faction, according to the desire of the Court of England (for the rest of that kingdom was sorry to see this kind of dealing) the English Ambassador persuaded the Regent to irritate and incense him, by all manner of slights done to himself, and his dependers, In the meantime my Lord Duke, the Earls of Argile and Huntly addressed themselves unto him, making their moan, 'that they being noblemen of the country, of considerable interest, were refused to be admitted into the society of the rest, who sought their ruin under pretext of the King's authority,

[1] Halliburton.

by the Regent, the Earl of Morton, and others, not their friends, requesting him to be their protector, and to assist them during the King's minority; telling him how that they at first would gladly have joined with the King's Lords, for maintaining the King's authority, but could not get place, nor be admitted.' Thus Grange finding himself neglected with the King's Lords, and sought after by the Queen's, he was compelled to declare with that side at length, having with him the Lord Hume, malcontent. Also Secretary Lidington, and Sir James Balfour spurring him on to take that course, he was resolved to take that side for his next refuge, he having been among the rest summoned to be forfaulted.

Now the two furious factions being in this manner framed, their hatred and rage grew greater and greater. For Mr Randolph knew the animosities which were among the nobility, and the nature of every one in particular, by his frequent coming and his long residence in Scotland. And among the ladies he had a mother, and a mistress, to whom he caused his Queen frequently to send commendations and tokens. He also used his craft with the ministers, offering gold to such of them as he thought could be prevailed with to accept of his offer; but such as were honest refused his gifts. He gave largely to all such as he knew were able to serve him in his design of kindling this fire; and his endeavours were so successful, that the two parties were not only stirred up to fight and shed one another's blood, but would revile each other with injurious and blasphemous words, and at length fell to the down casting of each others houses, to which England gave no small assistance, having sent in a number of men of war to throw down Hamilton. This was occasioned by some probability that appeared of a reconciliation of the two factions, by the endeavours of some of the most prudent ministers, who did all

they could to prevent the ensuing troubles. And they foresaw that this prejudice was done to the Hamiltons, to enrage them, so as there might be no hope of agreement when they should see themselves so far injured.

Now as Nero stood upon a high part of Rome to see the town burning, which he had caused to be set on fire; so Mr Randolph delighted to see such a fire by his craft kindled in Scotland, which was in all probability like to burn it up. And in his letters to some of the Court of England, he gloried that he had kindled a fire in Scotland, which could not be easily extinguished. Which when it came to the knowledge of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, he wrote to my brother Sir Robert and me, advertising us how we were handled, expressing his detestation both at Secretary Cecil director, and Mr Randolph as executor. All the honest men in England were sorry at it, of which number there are as many within that country, as in any other so much bounds in Europe.

My brother and I did show the letters we had received from Sir Nicholas, to the Laird of Grange, and so many within the Castle as we knew to be secret, which they easily believed, as being men of great understanding, who had noticed Mr Randolph's proceedings. Whereupon there were some secret meetings drawn on between my Lord Hume, and my Lord Ruthven as near kinsmen. The Lord Ruthven was in greatest favour with the Regent for the time, being also Treasurer; he was desired to come and speak with my Lord Hume, during the hottest of the civil wars. At which time Secretary Lidington, and my brother Sir Robert, came in to communing with the Lord Ruthven, after that he and the Lord Hume had spoken a space together, and did show him how the Regent was used by England, and how this kingdom was abused by the tricks of a few, for advancing their selfish ends; and also how that the Earl of Morton

had desired secretly to come at midnight, accompanied with Mr Archibald Douglas to the Castle of Edinburgh, and had entertained long conference with them, desiring their assistance, and he should chase the Earl of Lenox back to England, if they would accept and acknowledge him for Regent in his stead; which they of the Castle would not grant, looking upon the Earl of Lenox as a true Scotsman. And they declared that their denying to assist him at first, was his being sent for and brought in by them. That therefore they feared at the first, that he would have been too much at the devotion of the Court of England, as being an Englishman; and having yet his lady, children, and lands in that country; and moreover that he should be so led by the Earl of Morton and their factious enemies, that he would seek their utter ruin, both because that Captain Crawford who had accused the Secretary, was for the time servant to the Earl of Lenox, and alleged that he had a commission from the said Earl to give in the said accusation. And that which gave matter enough to my Lord Hume, was the bringing in of the Earl of Lenox by the Earl of Sussex, and the taking of his two houses of Hume and Fastcastle all at one time, which he supposed not to have been done without the Earl of Lenox his knowledge and consent. But since they understood that the Earl of Lenox, and the whole country was abused by England, Mr Randolph the agent, and the Earl of Morton, they were resolved both to agree themselves, and to cause all Scotland to agree with the Regent, if he would grant them reasonable conditions.

My Lord Ruthven was very glad of this offer, and said he hoped to bring them a good answer from the Regent; and the rather because the Earl of Morton was absent, being malcontent for denying to him the grant of the Bishopric of St Andrews, which the King's house and the Regent's might ill spare. So

he returned with this offer to the Regent, who much relished it; and after twice or thrice passing betwixt the Regent with the Lord Ruthven, had concluded a peace quietly in their minds, none being as yet made privy thereto.

But as Ambassadors are great spies, and commonly suspicious, Mr Randolph who lay at Leith having his own jealousies of an attention of accommodation, knew the only way to stop it, was to bring again the Earl of Morton, who he knew would violently oppose it, and use the utmost of his endeavours to render that design ineffectual. He therefore dealt earnestly with the Regent, to give the said Bishopric of St Andrews to the Earl of Morton, alleging to him, "that the Queen his mistress had written to him for that effect, and that she would recompense it to him with greater advantage. That he would cause her hand-writing to come to him thereabout, and that she would be much dissatisfied if he refused that her desire."

When the Regent had, upon Mr Randolph's desire, granted this, he incontinently advertised the Earl of Morton thereof, who immediately came to Court; and smelling the foresaid design of agreement, he used all the contrary practices he could to hinder it: for as he had fished that benefice in troubled waters, he hoped by such means to fish much more. And finding that I was much inclined to draw forward the accommodation, one of his devices was, to cause the Council to vote and direct the Earl of Buchan to take me prisoner out of my own house. But I was at a marriage in Fordel, where the said Earl came, with whom I went willingly, though I had many friends there as offered to chase him back again without his errand. But I would not prejudge my just cause: for the Earl of Buchan was of a gentle and discreet nature, and assured me they had nothing to lay to my charge, but to see if I could be a good instrument of concord.

He desired me, when I was in Leith, to send up to the Castle of Edinburgh, and allege that my life was in hazard, in case they would not render up the Castle to the Regent. I answered, it was a childish thing in them to propose such a thing to me, seeing they could not but know that my friends in the Castle were angrier at me than they were, because I did not take part with them. However, the Laird of Grange was dissatisfied, when he heard that I was taken: for he knew how far I was injured, seeing I had several times persuaded him to take part with the Regent; and how far I had reasoned against the Secretary and Sir James Balfour in their proceedings with the Queen's faction. For seeing she was captive, so that neither could she help them, nor they her, it would but occasion her to be the stronglier guarded and kept more straitly in England: for hearing that there was a faction risen up in her name, it would cause them to suppose that she was in hope of sudden liberty, by some practices with the subjects of England.

Sir James Balfour alleged, that her Majesty had friends in France and other parts, who would be more encouraged to do for her, if they understood that a number of the nobility did own her authority. I said, that her only friends were in England and France; that those who were in England durst not as yet appear, seeing there would be a special eye held over them; and her French friends would do her no good, the Queen-mother, who had the chief rule of that country, being her great enemy, and the house of Guise neither able to help her, nor yet were they her sure friends, as I shall show more at length anon.

I was declaring that the Laird of Grange was angry at my taking, I being so frank for the Regent, and he so willing to join with him. That same night he sent down a woman from the Castle to Leith, with a ticket to me, ' that he was resolved to come that same

night at mid-night, and relieve me out of their hands; that he had sent that woman to know how I was kept, and where I was lodged.' The Regent's camp lay between Leith and Edinburgh and many of the noblemen and Barons lodged in Leith; for every one had not pavilions to lodge in the camp.

The Laird of Grange had appointed a boat to lie at Granton, and had resolved to come sailing up to Leith harbour, as if it had been a boat come from Fife, and thought without stroke to come to my lodging and take me out of my keepers' hands, and go up the water again to a part where he had horsemen in readiness to carry me up to the Castle with him. But I would upon no account condescend thereto, assuring him, 'that I was in no danger; and that my Lord Buchan had promised, when I pleased, to let me slip away; which I would not do, but desired daily to come to a trial.'

Many of the Lords marvelled wherefore I was taken, seeing they knew, that since the Regent's entry to Scotland, I had ever assisted him. The Regent himself was much therewith dissatisfied; so that after inquiry it was found, that few of the counsellors knew of my taking. The Earl of Mar, a true nobleman, said, 'that the Earl of Buchan, for embracing such a commission, was madder than the former Earl his father, who was known not to be very wise.' But the Earl of Morton sent me word, 'That nothing should ail me more than his own heart.' For the fashion they desired me to find caution, that I should serve the King's Majesty, and his Regent: and so I was dismissed and never brought before the Council.

Of a truth I could see no reason to set up two factions to destroy the country, seeing I knew, that though the one party professed to be for the Queen, it was so far from conducing to her advantage, that I knew it had a quite contrary effect so long as she was

captive: nor yet could I see any out-gate for those who professed her authority, and who were compelled thereto for their own defence; for whereas they would gladly have assisted the King's Lords, if they would have accepted of them, finding themselves refused, necessity drew them to defend themselves under the name of some authority, not true love to the Queen: and therefore I thought them the less to be relied upon.

The rest of my reasons, why the Queen could expect no help out of France from her own friends, nor yet from the Queen-mother were these: "The Queen-mother had not been well used, so long as our Queen's husband Francis II lived. The council and states of France desired not the union of this Isle." For a proof hereof, after that my brother Sir Robert (when he returned the first time of his ambassage out of England) brought the hand-writings of twenty-five principal Earls and Lords in England, to set the Crown of England upon the Queen of Scotland's head. For the Captains in the particular shires were ready named, and by those Lords set down in that paper, who were to be all in readiness to march forward whenever they should be charged; only they waited the Queen's opportunity, and advertisement when to stir. Upon this intelligence, the Queen incontinently did write to France, to her uncle the Cardinal of Lorrain, desiring him to send to her one of his most secret servants, to whom she was to communicate matters of that weight and importance, that she could not hazard to send them in writing or cyphers. And accordingly the said Cardinal sent hither one of his most familiar secretaries, to whom the Queen caused my brother and me to declare the state of England, and the great party she had there to espouse her interest, as is above specified; desiring her said uncle to send his advice what time would be most fit for her to stir, and to send what help he and all his friends could procure.

The Secretary being returned to his master, informed him of the whole matter. The Cardinal again, to insinuate upon the Queen-mother, and to appear to be a true Frenchman, acquainted the Queen-mother how prejudicial to the Crown of France the union of this isle of Great Britain would be, that therefore it was her interest all she could to oppose it. He therefore advised her to advertise the Queen of England of the said intended plot, as the only and most effectual means for preventing it; which the Queen-mother failed not to do. But whatever the Queen of England's thoughts of the truth thereof was, she appeared to give no credit thereto, as if she looked upon it as an Italian fetch to put her in suspicion of her nobility. This account I had from the Queen's Majesty herself, complaining to me one day of the Cardinal's unkind dealing towards her. Therefore I thought I had good ground to say, 'There was no help to be looked for out of France.' And the Duke of Alva, who was in Flanders, had plainly refused to give her any help till the King his master would command him 'seeing,' as he alleged, 'he had work enough to do to settle his master's own subjects in Flanders.'

These were the arguments which I used to move my friends to agree with the Regent: and my endeavours wanted not success, they having come very near a point by the dealing of the two Lords above mentioned, Hume and Ruthven, assisted by Secretary Lidington; for the Lord Hume would then do nothing without his advice.

But after that the Earl of Morton was returned to the Court, and had by Randolph's means obtained the Bishopric of St Andrews; these two suspecting the probability of the apparent agreement, which had been kept secret from them, they fell a plotting some way to hinder the same, and concluded to hold a Parliament, wherein to forfault all the Queen's Lords, whereby the

Regent should utterly ruin his ancient enemies the Hamiltons; and there would be a bait to every one of the King's Lords, seeing they should be made sharers of the spoil, and so each of them get wealth enough, Mr Randolph, for their encouragement, gave them assurance of assistance from England, so that they needed fear no resistance from their adversaries. The Earl of Morton had made a great faction in the Council, partly by representing the Queen's Lords, as intending to re-establish Popery (upon which allegiance he knew he would make them odious to the generality of the people) but especially by promising each of his party a share of the forfaulters of the Queen's Lords; so that they were easily brought to consent to a Parliament, to be held at Stirling for the foresaid effect.

The Queen's Lords, to be equal with them, held another Parliament at Edinburgh, both at one time, upon that very same design of forfaulting the King's Lords. The Laird of Grange in the meantime took great displeasure to see Scotsmen so furiously bent against each other, set on by the practices of England, and the extreme avarice of some particular men for their selfish designs, who intended to augment their estates, and raise their own fortunes upon the ruins of their neighbours. Therefore he sent for the Laird of Ferniherst his son-in-law, and the Laird of Buccleuch, father to this present Lord, who loved the Laird of Grange better than any of his own kindred; which Laird of Buccleuch was a man of rare qualities, wise, true, stout, and modest. These two gentlemen were desired to come well accompanied, and arrived at Edinburgh in an evening late.

The Laird of Grange had already devised an enterprise, to wit, 'That same night after they had supped themselves, and baited their horses, to ride all night forward with them to Stirling, to be there early in the morning before any of the Lords who held the Parlia-

ment were out of their beds, hoping by the intelligence he had received, assuredly to surprise them before they could be advertised.' All the Lords and Council found the advice exceeding good, but they would in nowise grant that he should ride with them, alleging, 'that their only comfort, under God, consisted in his preservation.' He on the other hand alleged, 'his presence would be necessary, for he was acquainted with difficult enterprises, and feared that they would not follow rightly nor carefully his directions.' But they engaged to follow it most strictly, and would not suffer him to ride with them; but the Earl of Huntly, my Lord Arbroth, and divers others went forward with the forces.

These two gentlemen had brought them, and were at Stirling before four of the clock in the morning, and entered the town of Stirling at a little passage, led by a townsman called George Bell; which entry of theirs was immediately after the night-watches had retired to their rest. They divided their men, and appointed such as they thought meetest to wait at every Lord's lodging, and a company with Captain Halkerston to wait at the market-cross, to cause good order to be kept, and to preserve the town houses from being spoiled; only they appointed the stables to be cleansed by Buccleuch and Ferniherst's men, giving them commands not to leave one horse in town uncarried away with them; which commission the fourthland lads forgot not punctually to execute. But because Captain Halkerston came not in due time with his company to stand where he was appointed, a number of unruly servants broke up the merchants booths, and run here and there in disorder after the spoil, leaving their masters all alone, after they had taken out all the Lords from their lodgings, and were leading them captives down the steep causey of Stirling on foot, intending to take their horses at the nether port

and ride to Edinburgh with their prisoners. But those within the Castle being alarmed with the noise of the townsmen, crying out because of the spoil taken from them, imagining what shame they would endure if they did not show themselves men; and perceiving the disorder of their enemies, they came down fearlessly upon them, and rescued all the prisoners save the Regent, whom one came and shot behind his back, commanded as was alleged, by my Lord of Paisly.

The Laird of Wormiston[1] was the taker of the Regent, and had been ordained by the Laird of Grange to wait upon him, to save him from his particular enemies: for they all had engaged to him, ere they went from Edinburgh, not to kill one man, else he would not have left them. Wormiston was also killed against the Regent's will, who cried continually to save him, who had done what he could for his preservation. The Regent died not suddenly, but some days after, and made a very godly end. They who had lost this fair enterprise for want of Grange's conduct, had enough to do to save themselves, and had been all taken, had not those in Stirling wanted horses to pursue after them. For those who had taken the horses, did ride forward with all possible speed, leaving their masters in danger to do for themselves.

When they were returned back to Edinburgh, they were very unwelcome guests to the Laird of Grange, who greatly lamented the Regent's slaughter. He said openly, 'If he knew who had done that foul deed, or had directed it to be done, his own hand should have revenged it.' And whereas before he used to be meek and gentle, he could not now command himself, but bursted out into harsh language, calling them 'disorderly beasts.' For he knew the Regent was inclined to peace, and was only ignorantly driven on by the Earl of Morton, and Mr Randolph's practices

[1] Spens.

to hold the said Parliament, to the hindrance of concord and agreement: therefore his intention was to bring all the King's Lords to the Castle of Edinburgh, and to have made an agreement betwixt them and the other faction before they had parted. But God in his providence would not permit this, for further punishment of our wickedness: for the Parliaments held forward, and each one of them forfaulted others. The King's Lords came and lay at Leith, and the Queen's within the town and Castle of Edinburgh.

Mr Randolph would have had Morton made Regent instead of Lenox; but the Lords liked better of the Earl of Mar, and chose him.

For a little time there was hot skirmishing betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, and extreme hatred betwixt the two factions, and great cruelties exercised, where they could be masters of one another. And frequently the Marshal of Berwick came to Leith to assist Mr Randolph privately, though publicly to find fault with him for his proceedings; which my Lord of Mar's friends perceived, and himself at last, whereupon he began to grow colder in the quarrel, and withdrew himself to Stirling, advising with his friends what was meetest to be done; alleging that he could see nothing but the wreck of the country, under pretext of owning the King and Queen's authority, while neither King's nor Queen's was in any of their minds, but only put on by their own partialities of ambition, greediness, and vengeance, England kindling up both the parties, and then laughing them all to scorn.

After this conference, Captain James Cuningham, servant to my Lord of Mar, a discreet gentleman, desired a secret meeting with my brother Sir Robert. In the meantime the most part of the King's Lords went to Stirling, where the Regent was living. My Lord of Morton went to Dalkeith; and my Lord Lindsay lay in Leith. When the wars grew colder,

and notice thereof taken by the Court of England, a new Ambassador was hasted to Scotland, to wit, Mr Henry Killigrew, an old acquaintance of mine: for Mr Randolph was returned home, because he had not such credit with the Earl of Mar as to do service to those he served, and had lost the favour of both the factions; for his double-dealing was discovered, he having no credit but with the Earl of Morton.

This new Ambassador being arrived at Leith upon his way toward Stirling, where the Regent remained for the time, he sent up to the Castle of Edinburgh to see if I was there; for they had told him in Leith, that I was newly come from Fife. He desired that I would come and speak with him, which I did, and convoyed him unto Cramond, reasoning together all the way upon such matters, as he said he had in commission, chiefly how he might be a good instrument to agree the differences that were between the two parties; albeit I knew there was nothing less in his mind, at least in his commission.

He said, he had the Queen his mistress's commands to deal with both parties for concord, but that he was most concerned in those of the Castle, albeit that outwardly he behoved first to go to the Regent, being in civility engaged to give him the prerogative; yet in effect he said, my friends in the Castle were those to them he was chiefly directed, that they should be preferred both by his first salutation by me to them, and by two familiar letters, the one from my Lord of Leicester to the Laird of Grange, and the other from Secretary Cecil to Secretary Lidington, desiring me to entreat them to follow the good counsel given therein by the said Lords, who loved them entirely for their virtue and old acquaintance. He willed me to tell them, that after he had declared his commission to the Regent, he would come back again to them, and at length declare his commission to them from her Majesty.

It appeared to me that he had intelligence how that Mr Randolph's double-dealing had been discovered, therefore he seemed to find fault with him in many things, though in general he excused him as far as he could, until I had adjured him upon the long and great familiarity that had been betwixt us, to deal plainlier with me. I told him he might serve his mistress truly enough, without casting me and my friends upon a wrong side, which might be afterwards our ruin, who deserved better at his hands than to put us in such dangers, as if we were untoward, dishonest, or uncounsellable, as Mr Randolph had done, forgetting the fraternity of Religion so well grounded among us during his banishment in France for Religion. There he was compelled to confess to me, that his commission and his mind went not one way, and that he was employed against his will, though, as a servant, he durst not disobey his princess, he said he would give me his loving counsel and warning very freely.

He said that the Council of England neither built their course here upon the late Regent, nor yet upon this, but entirely upon the Earl of Morton, as well of their own plot laid down long since, as by the information of Mr Randolph, who hath confirmed them in that opinion, so that they will not alter for no contrary persuasion. Willing my friends and me to join our course, and band with the Earl of Morton, or else to expect no friendship from the Court of England, but hurt and ruin so far as they might. For albeit he was not Regent, they knew that he had a great faction in the country, which they were resolved what they could to increase; so that whoever was Regent, he should get little or nothing done without his consent. In this I thought he dealt plainly; my friends of the Castle were of that same judgment, yet they could not find in their heart to join with him, albeit

he sought their friendship, offering to hold up the Queen's authority; for they thought his course unsure for the King, and settling of the estate, he being too much addicted to England.

After that this Ambassador had been with the Regent in Stirling, and was come back again to Edinburgh, he told the rest of his commission to them of the Castle, to whom he used himself but like an Ambassador as he was directed. He said that he found them more reasonable than the Regent's party. Then he went to Dalkeith to meet with the Earl of Morton, and thereafter returned to Edinburgh, to wait all fit occasions and informations how to proceed conform to the tenor of his instructions. He had commandment to stay in Scotland for a time, to see if he could obtain as much credit as to serve their turn who sent him. And because I was of his greatest acquaintance, he came with me to my house in Halhill, and stayed a few days there to refresh his spirits; and after that I convoyed him back again to Edinburgh, he showed me some articles of his instructions, one of which was:—

"Item, If the Captain of the Castle will condescend, that all the differences now in question among the Scots, be referred to be decided before us and our Council, as the rest of the King's Lords have granted already, we shall be his good friend, maintain him in his office, and give him an honourable pension." But he plainly refused to comply with this, saying, he would prejudge his Prince and country; so that this and his other former refusals cost him his life afterwards.

About this time my Lord Regent sent a letter to me, with all diligence to come to him. At my coming he made a heavy moan for the civil troubles that were kindled in the country, by the craft and malice of some in England and some in Scotland, taking the colour of this or that authority, and yet were only

moved with their own particularities, to the hurt both of King, Queen and country; desiring me that I would go unto the Castle of Edinburgh, and show them, as of my own head, and not as from him, that I understood he perceived albeit too late, how that we are led upon the ice, and that it was the interest of all true Scotsmen to agree that the state may be settled. And, says he, you may desire them to seek to treat with me thereabout; which you may assure them they will obtain, if they will seek the same. And offer yourself to be the instrument to bring on a good agreement between them and me, which shall by God's grace take good effect upon your return with their reasonable offers and answer. Whereupon I went to Edinburgh, and found them all inclined to peace and quietness, with little need of persuasions thereto; for they were near a point before with my Lord of Lenox, and some former conference had been betwixt my brother and Captain Cuningham thereabouts.

At my return to the Regent, he was very glad, saying, he knew that these honest gentlemen were ever willing to cease from civil discord, seeing the Queen was captive, to whom their owning her authority could do no good but evil; but that they had been by crafty practices cast against their wills upon a contrary course. Then he inquired upon what conditions the Captain and his friends would agree? I said, that the Laird of Grange would not sell his duty to his Prince and country for advantage, but would serve the King and his country to settle the estate, so long as the Queen was detained in England; and if God pleased to grant her liberty, they doubted not but she and her son should agree betwixt themselves, to which all honest and good subjects would consent. They for their parts desired no man's lands nor goods, but only liberty peaceably to enjoy their own livings. Only

Grange desired that the Regent would cause to pay certain debts contracted for repairing of the Castle and artillery; which conditions the Regent promised to fulfil, and to be an assured friend to Grange and those in the Castle. And without any other ceremonies he called the Laird of Tullibardine, and after he declared unto him how far we had proceeded, he put his hand in mine and did swear the peace in presence of the said Tullibardine, who had also been a good instrument in the said agreement, together with Mr Clement Little afterwards Provost of Edinburgh. No man was privy thereto but my Lady Mar and Captain James Cuningham.

After this the Regent went to Edinburgh to convene the Lords of Council, to show them the calamities that the civil wars produced, and to let them see how necessary an agreement would be to the whole country. In the meantime until the appointed council-day, he went to Dalkeith, where he was nobly treated by the Lord of Morton; shortly after which he took a vehement sickness, which caused him to ride suddenly to Stirling, where he died regretted by many. Some of his friends and the vulgar suspected he had gotten wrong at his banquet.

The Earl of Morton, after the decease of the Earl of Mar, was made Regent, England helping it with all their might. So soon as he was chosen he sent for me, declaring how that against his mind and inclinations the Lords had burdened him with that troublesome office, whereof seeing he behoved to accept, he could wish that he might stand the country and commonwealth in some stead. First he would desire the help of all good and honest men, to draw on peace and concord to the quieting the state, praying me as one for whom he had ever entertained special favour, to travel with my friends of the Castle for that effect, and to persuade them to go forward with him, as

they were minded to do with the Earl of Mar; assuring me that none of the former Regents had at any time been more willing than he was presently to put an end to the civil troubles, nor that I should remember less the partialities past, and that the Regent should not revenge the Earl of Morton's quarrels. But whoever would serve the King and be his friend, he would embrace them upon what faction soever they had formerly been. And he was willing to give whatever conditions the Earl of Mar had offered; that I should have the Priory of Pittenweem for my pains; the Laird of Grange the Bishopric of St Andrews, and Castle of Blackness; and every one within the Castle should be restored to their lands and possessions as before.

It was very hard to bring on this agreement with the Earl of Morton, for the evil opinion which was conceived of him, and the hurtful marks they supposed by proofs and appearances that he would shoot at, being by nature covetous and too great with England, and ever jealous that the King would be his ruin, concerning which a lady, who was his whore, had shown him the answers of the oracles. Yet the Laird of Grange, who was ever willing to see concord in the country, was easily persuaded: the Lord Hume and Lidington made some resistance at the first, but were also at length content. So that after I had passed twice or thrice between them, they appeared to be agreed in their hearts: and the Laird of Grange said, he would cause all the rest of the Queen's faction to agree with the Regent; but he refused to take the Bishopric of St Andrews and the Castle of Blackness, desiring nothing but his own lands.

When I returned to the Regent with this answer conform to his desire, he was marvellously glad; but when I declared that the Laird of Grange would be a good instrument to cause all the rest of the Queen's

faction to agree also with him; he answered, that was not meet. And when I reasoned against him, and showed him how that I had spoken in his name, that he was resolved to have agreed all Scotland, and that Grange had no quarrel of his own, but to help a number of noblemen who required his protection during the King's minority, and had requested the Regent once to agree with them altogether, for Grange's honour; and afterwards he, and all these of the Castle should band with him and lay aside all other bands.

The Regent answered, and said, James, I will be plain with you, it is not my interest to agree with them all, for then their faction will be as strong as ever it was, thereby they may some day circumvent me, if they please, therefore it is my game to divide them. And moreover there have been great troubles in this country this while bygone, and during them great wrongs and extortions committed, for the which some fashion of punishment must be made, and I would rather that the crimes should be laid upon the Hamiltons, the Earl of Huntly, and their adherents, than upon your friends; and by their wreck I will get more profit, than by that of those in the Castle, that have neither so great lands to escheat to us, as the reward of our labours. Therefore show Grange and your friends, that either they must agree without the Hamiltons, and the Earls of Huntly and Argile; or the said Lords will agree without him, and these of the Castle. To this I answered, that I understood him, his speeches being very plain. With this I went again to the Castle, and rehearsed our whole reasoning. Grange said it was neither godly or just dealing, to lay the blame upon those that were richest for their lands and goods, and not upon them who were guiltiest, seeing these noblemen had been ever willing to agree, after that the Queen was kept in England, but could not be admitted. And yet if now they would abandon

him, and agree without him and those in his company, he had deserved better at their hands; yet he had rather that they should leave and deceive him, than that he should do it unto them.

When I had given this return to Morton, and that he perceived that Grange stood stiff upon his honesty and reputation, he appeared to like him the better, and seemed as if he had been resolved to go forward with those of the Castle. He sent up Carmichael, at my desire, to hear out of their own mouths so far as I had spoken in their name: they of the Castle likewise sent Pittarrow to the Regent to hear out of his own mouth, so far about the agreement as I had said to them in his name. This I did for my discharge, whatsoever might come afterwards.

The Regent asked at what time the Castle of Edinburgh should be delivered to him? I said, within half a year. What security, said he, shall I have for it? I said, I should be a pledge if he would accept me. Then he inquired wherefore I sought so long delay? I answered in the first place, till all articles and promises might be performed, and likewise because though the Laird of Grange was ever esteemed an honest man, yet by wrong reports and practices the ministers have been stirred up to cry out and preach against him; therefore to enable him to serve for the future, it would be some satisfaction to his mind, to let the world see, that as well after the agreement as before, he should be esteemed alike honest and worthy to keep the house, and then at the time appointed the Regent should be entreated to receive the Castle out of his hands. He appeared to be very well content with this manner of dealing, and gave me great thanks for the travel I had made, desiring me to go home, and he in the meantime would convene the rest of the noblemen of his side, and acquaint them with his proceedings, and take their advice and consent to this

good work, which he doubted not to procure; and thereafter he said he would send for me again, and put the form of the agreement in writing.

But he took immediately another course, and sent a fit man to the Hamiltons, the Earls of Huntly, Argile, and their dependers, and offered an accommodation to them, if they could be satisfied to make an agreement by themselves, not including Grange and those in the Castle: which condition they accepted of, without making therein any ceremonies, whereof they by their letters instantly from Perth advertised the Laird of Grange; lamenting that the straits they were redacted to, had compelled them to accept that agreement which the Regent had offered them, praying him not to take it in evil part, seeing they had no house nor strength to retire themselves to. They gave him many thanks for the help and assistance he had made them, which they said, they would never forget so long as God would lend them their lives.

This was the recompense this good gentleman obtained for the great help he had given the Lords, the hazard he had run upon their account, and the charges he had been at in aiding them; not imagining that the Regent would be so malicious as to cast him off, and not accept of his friendship, which he incontinently offered, after the rest were agreed. But from that time forth the Regent would hear none of his offers, persuading the rest of his faction that these of the Castle were so proud and wilful, that they refused to serve the King, or acknowledge him as Regent. And this was published and preached; and yet the contrary was true, for they would have taken any reasonable appointment. What rage was in the Regent's mind for greediness of their lands and goods; or what should have induced him to bring an army from England to besiege the Castle of Edinburgh, I know not, it being to the dishonour of his Prince and

country, seeing a little before, the Castle was offered to the Earl of Rothes, to be instantly delivered unto his hands, to be kept to the Regent's behoof; which was refused. So that apparently he had some other fetch in his head, than a man esteemed so wise should have had, seeing he might have obtained his intent without the help of England, having all Scotland at his devotion, saving that few number within the Castle who would likewise have agreed upon any reasonable condition.

Thus the Castle of Edinburgh was straitly besieged with an English army under the conduct of the Marshal of Berwick, assisted by all Scotland. These within seeing they could not be received upon any composition, debated so long as they had victuals and water: for their draw-well dried by the droughty summer, and they had no other water but what they fetched, letting men with cords down over the walls and rock of the Castle to a well on the west side, which was afterward poisoned, whereby so many as escaped the shot died, and the rest fell deadly sick. Yet the Laird of Grange undertook with eight persons to keep the Castle untaken by force, of the which number were, the Lord Hume, my two brothers Sir Robert and Sir Andrew, the Laird of Pittarrow and his brother Patrick. This resolution being taken, the Laird of Cleish and Matthew Colvil his brother were sent to the Castle, under the pretext of making offers of agreement; but their design was to get intelligence of the state of the house, and to seduce the soldiers who were yet alive; which they did, so that some fled out over the walls, and others were shut forth. For the Captain thought the house in a better condition both for victuals and otherwise, when they were forth.

The Marshal of Berwick seeing no appearance to succeed, entered into contention with the Ambassador,

alleging that the Queen his mistress would be dishonoured, and said, he would wait no longer; whereupon they 'without' entered on a new communion, and sent up again the Laird of Cleish to offer them good conditions to come forth with their armour and bag and baggage, which was agreed to, and that they should be restored to their lands; and because for the time these were in other men's possession, it was referred to themselves whether they would go to England with the Marshal of Berwick, or remain in Scotland among their friends, until the promise made them of restoring them to their lands might be fulfilled. The Englishmen desired that the Castle should be put in their hands; but Grange sent secretly to Captain Hume and Captain Crawford, desiring them to come and lie within the bulwark betwixt the house and the Englishmen; and to those he delivered the Castle, and his person to the Marshal, to go with him to England, until all promises might be kept to him and the rest by the Queen of England's means.

In this manner they came forth, after that George Douglass, natural brother to the Regent, had received the house; they had all their swords and weapons about them, and were three days at liberty. My brother Sir Robert lay with me at his own lodging; the Laird of Grange and the Secretary Lidington remained yet with the Marshal of Berwick at his lodging for their greater security, because that the people of the town of Edinburgh were greatly their enemies. For except a few that tarried within the town during the civil troubles between the parties that lay in Edinburgh and Leith, the most part of the richest men and merchants left the town and went to Leith, to take part with the Regent; therefore their houses were spoiled, upon which account they did bear great hatred to those in the Castle.

But at the end of three days they were all laid hands

upon, and taken as prisoners. For some of their most malicious enemies put it easily in the Regent's head, and the Ambassador's, that it was well done to move the Queen of England to cause to deliver the whole prisoners to the Regent, to be disposed upon at his pleasure, alleging they had no surety but a naked promise, which they needed not to keep; and because those of the Castle confided wholly on the Marshal's promise, the Ambassador was advised to prevent the Marshal's writing; so that ere he did write to the Queen thereabout, her letter came to him to deliver up the prisoners who had been in the Castle to the Regent. And he durst not disobey her command, the same being so peremptory, though he obeyed it with much regret and great reluctancy, by reason of his promise, and returned malcontent to Berwick. And they in the Castle were committed to strait ward; and thereafter new letters were purchased by the Regent from the Queen that he might execute them, which she willingly permitted, for she would gladly have been quit of my Lord Hume and Grange, as being two true Scotsmen, unwonable to England to do anything prejudicial to their King or country, and of the Secretary Lidington, but he died at Leith after the old Roman fashion, as was said, to prevent his coming to the shambles with the rest.

As for the Lord Hume, the Regent durst not meddle with him, he standing in awe of Alexander Hume and Manderston Coldingknows, and the good man of Northberwick, and the rest of that name, who boasted with very proud language. He died shortly after, being warded in the Castle of Edinburgh. Mr Killigrew the English Ambassador, desired no other reward for his labour but the preservation of my brother Sir Robert's life, for he was obliged formerly to him and me. The composition was kept to all the rest of the mean gentlemen. The Prior of Coldingham

and Laird of Drylaw were afterwards set at liberty. Sundry of the Captains of Berwick went up to the Castle by the breach beat down in the fore-wall by the cannons, that they might say that they had won the maiden-castle. But this was after that the house was delivered over to the Regent's brother; yet he would not suffer them to enter there with any number.

On this manner both England and the Regent were revenged upon that worthy champion Grange, whom they had sometimes in great estimation, who had done such notable service in France, being captain of an hundred light horsemen, that he was extolled by the Duke of Vendome, Prince of Condé, and Duke of Aumale, governors and colonels then in Picardy; that I heard Henry II point unto him and say, 'Yonder is one of the most valiant men of our age.' Also the King used him so familiarly, that he chose him commonly upon his side in all pastimes he went to; and because he shot far with a great shaft at the butts, the King would have him to shoot two arrows, one for his pleasure. The great Constable of France would never speak to him uncovered, and that King gave him an honourable pension, whereof he never sought payment.

England had proof of his valour frequently against them upon the Borders, where he gave them divers ruffles. In a single combat he vanquished the Earl of Rivers's brother between the two armies of Scotland and England. He afterwards debated manfully the liberty of his country against the Frenchmen, when they intended to erect the land into a province. He had lately refused the demands of Mr Randolph and Mr Killigrew, as is before mentioned, and had reproached both the said Ambassadors of false and deceitful dealings. Last of all, he had refused to put the Castle into the hands of Englishmen, and therefore because he was true to his Prince and country,

it cost him his life. For they boasted plainly to bring down the giant's pride who, as they alleged, presumed to be another Wallace. Albeit contrariwise he was humble, gentle, and meek like a lamb in the house, but like a lion in the fields. He was a lusty, strong and well-proportioned personage, hardy and of a magnanimous courage, secret and prudent in all his enterprises, so that never one that he made or devised misgave where he was present himself. When he was victorious he was very merciful, and naturally liberal, an enemy to greediness and ambition, and a friend to all men in adversity. He fell frequently in trouble in protecting innocent men from such as would oppress them, so that these his worthy qualifications were also partly causes and means of his wreck: for they promoted him so in the opinion of many, that some loved him for his Religion, uprightness, and manliness; others again depended upon him for his good fortune and apparent promotion, whereby divers of them hoped to be advanced and rewarded, supposing that offices and honours could not fail to fall to him. All which he wanted through his own default, for he had fled from avarice, and abhorred ambition, and refused sundry great offices, even to be Regent, which were in his offer, as well as other great benefices and pensions. Thus wanting place and subsistance to reward, he was soon abandoned by his greedy and ambitious dependers: for when they saw him at a strait, they drew to others, whom they perceived to aim at more profitable marks. On the other hand, he was as much envied by those who were of a vile and unworthy nature, of whom many have made tragical ends for their too great avarice and ambition, as shortly after did the Earl of Morton.

This gallant gentleman perished for being too little ambitious and greedy. But so soon as the King's Majesty came to perfect age, and had understood how

matters had gone during his minority, he caused to restore the heirs of the said Laird of Grange, who he said was wrecked contrary to the appointment made with the Marshal of Berwick; and also ordered his bones to be taken up, and buried honourably in the ancient burial-place of his predecessors in Kinghorn.

After his death the Marshal of Berwick took so heavy displeasure, finding himself so far affronted, because of the breach of his promise, and that the appointment which he had made with the Castle of Edinburgh was not kept; that he would tarry no longer in his office at Berwick, seeing he judged he had lost his credit and reputation; for he was a plain man of war, and loved Grange so dearly, that at his request he spared to cast down the houses of Seaton and Nidrie, when he came in to cast down the house of Hamilton. Likewise all the officers of Berwick lamented the loss of so worthy a captain.

The Regent triumphed for a while, because of the great assistance that England made to him, which they had never done to any of the former Regents, but rather stirred up factions and parties against them to keep the country in discord. The causes that moved them so to assist him, were, that they believed the old jealousies betwixt the Stuarts and Douglasses should by him be brought to an end, the young King being in his hands, to be disposed of at pleasure; the Queen his mother being already captive in their hands; which two only could join Scotland and England in one monarchy. Therefore above all others, the guiders of the Court of England for the time wished them out of the way, as well for the great offices done by them both to King and Queen, as for the desire they had to destroy that race and line, to place some of their own friends to succeed to the Crown of England. So, thinking that the Regent's mark in Scotland, and theirs in England was comformable, they established

and fortified him in his regiment, though God in his goodness suffered not their practices to take effect. For the Regent wanting heirs of his own body, and having no competitors to stay him from doing anything that he pleased, when he thought the time meet, he delayed matters, and in the meantime bent his whole study how to gather riches, and how to suck out substance from England and Scotland, moving England thereby too late to repent that they had not preserved the Laird of Grange to be an awe over the Regent, as he kept the King to be an awe over them. And as he was crafty, so he was fearful and slow of nature, and thought the Earl of Angus his brother's son yet too young, and not capable to comprehend his hidden intention, and therefore he was long of resolving. In the meantime serving his own turn with England, as they did with all the world, when they were like to have any trouble among themselves, or with their neighbours; then he compelled them to send him money, which they were necessitated to do, though sore against their heart, with a hidden despite and secret hatred at his slowness on the one part and covetousness on the other.

This Regent held the country in an established estate, under great obedience, better than for many years before or since. For there was not another Earl of Morton to stir up the factious subjects, as he used to do against the rest of the Regents, which made him so proud and disdainful, that he despised the rest of the nobility. And using no man's counsel but his own, he became ungrateful to all his old friends and servants. And being, under pretext of justice, used to commit divers wrongs and extortions, he caused to begin a process against the Laird of Fintry, because many years before a thief had made his escape out of his hands; and against the Laird of Seafield for a piece of land; and against Mr James Thornton

THE REGENT MORTON

for his benefice. Thus as he had lost the favour of England, so he did by such ways, the hearts of all Scotland, but only of George Auchinleck and Alexander Jardan.

As for the Laird of Carmichael, he lamented to me grievously of his ingratitude toward him, and was minded to leave him, until I gave him counsel to help himself by the hurtful experience of the Laird of Grange, and Walter Melville my brother who was one of the gentlemen of the Earl of Murray's chamber; which two lost his favour so soon as he became Regent. And likewise I told him, that very way I lost him myself; for we had been long familiar with him, and had assisted him in all his troubles. But when he was Regent, we would with our wonted freedom reprove, admonish, and tell him his faults; whereby we lost his favour. And others who formerly had ever been against him, came in and flattered him in all his proceedings, and stooped very low to him, calling him Your Grace at each word. These men, I said won him, and we lost him. And apparently, said I to Carmichael, you follow the like foolish behaviour as we did, therefore you must take up another kind of doing. And seeing your friend is become Regent, imagine that you were never acquainted with him before, but that you are entering to serve a new master. Cast never up your old and long service, cringe low, grace him at every word, find no fault with his proceedings, but serve all his affections with great diligence and continual waiting, and you shall be sure of a reward. Otherwise all your former time spent in his service will be lost, and he will hate you, and take a despite at you, which may bring on afterwards a greater wreck. Carmichael gave me great thanks, and his hand that he would follow this counsel; which he afterward did very punctually, and so became a greater courtier than ever, and was employed and

rewarded, and had credit to do pleasure to his friends: but I found him not thankful afterwards to me for my counsel.

Now the young King was brought up in Stirling, by Alexander Erskine and my Lady Mar. He had four principal masters, Mr George Buchanan, Mr Peter Young, the Abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, descended from the house of Erskine. The Laird of Drumwhasel was master of the household. Alexander Erskine was a gallant well-natured gentleman, loved and honoured by all men for his good qualities and great discretion, noways factious nor envious, a lover of all honest men, and desired ever to see men of good conversation about the Prince, rather than his own nearer friends, if he found them not so meet.

The Laird of Drumwhasel again was ambitious and greedy, his greatest care was to advance himself and his friends. The two Abbots were wise and modest. My Lady Mar was wise and sharp, and held the King in great awe; and so did Mr George Buchanan. Mr Peter Young was more gentle, and was loath to offend the King at any time, carrying himself warily, as a man who had mind of his own weal, by keeping up his Majesty's favour. But Mr George was a stoic philosopher, who looked not far before him: a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in Latin poesy, much honoured in other countries, pleasant in conversation, rehearsing at all occasions moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted. He was also religious, but was easily abused, and so facile, that he was led by every company that he haunted, which made him factious in his old days; for he spoke and wrote as those who were about him informed him: for he was become careless, following in many things the vulgar opinion: for he was naturally popular, and

extremely revengeful against any man who had offended him, which was his greatest fault. For he did write despiteful invectives against the Earl of Monteith, for some particulars that were between him and the Laird of Buchanan. He became the Earl of Morton's great enemy, for that a nag of his chanced to be taken from his servant during the civil troubles, and was bought by the Regent, who had no will to part with the said horse, he was so sure-footed and so easy, that albeit Mr George had oft-times required him again, he could not get him. And therefore though he had been the Regent's great friend before, he became his mortal enemy, and from that time forth spoke evil of him in all places, and at all occasions. Drumwhasel also, because the Regent kept all the casualities to himself, and would let nothing fall to others who were about the King, became also his great enemy; and so did they all who were about his Majesty.

The Regent again ruling all at his pleasure, made no account of any about the King, until a discreet gentleman called Mr Nicholas Elphinston advertised him, that the King had no kindness for him, advising him, albeit too late, to bestow part of his gold unto so many of the King's servants, as were thought to be most wonable, seeing he was envied of many, and hated of every man, especially by those who were in Stirling about the King. He gave to one that was in mean rank twenty-five pieces of gold, at twenty pound the piece. What he gave to others I cannot tell: but such as had spoken ill of him before, durst not alter their language, because of the King's wit and good memory, who could check any that he perceived had first spoken evil, and then began to speak good again; as his Majesty had done to one of the company, alleging, that he had changed his coat, as I was afterward informed: so that the Regent was too long in

dealing part of his gold to those about his Majesty, who increasing in years and knowledge, sundry gentlemen began to look after service, and turned on-waiters. Among others, James Stuart son to the Lord Ochiltree, a young man of a busy brain, had an aspiring spirit, and through time won great favour and credit with his Majesty. And though he was not well liked by those of the Castle of Stirling, yet he was the more overseen, because he gave continually evil information to his Majesty of the Earl of Morton; and so did also my Lord Robert Earl of Orkney, who had been warded, and hardly handled by the Regent, for some double dealing with Denmark as was alleged.

The Regent being in this manner brought in disgrace with his Majesty, when he was upon the height of the wheel, the Earls of Argile and Athole were secretly practised, and drawn to Stirling by Drumwhasel, with the consent of Alexander Erskine, Master of Mar, and Mr George Buchanan; by whose advice and counsel his Majesty was easily moved to depose the Regent from his office. Who yielded easilier thereto than any man would have believed, against the opinion of his friends retiring himself to the house of Lochlevin within the loch, for the surety of his person until he might understand what was like to follow thereupon, and what might be the next best for him to do.

The King's Majesty having attained unto the age of [twelve] years, ordained a Council to sit at Edinburgh for ordering the affairs of the realm. The Earl of Athole was made Chancellor, because the Lord Glammis was a little before slain in Stirling, by the Earl of Crawford, as was suspected, though he denied the deed, and purged himself thereof as far as he could. The Earl of Argile and the Master of Mar stayed in Stirling with the King's Majesty.

During the time that this new Council sat in Edin-

burgh, the Earl of Morton, who was quiet in Lochlevin, making the walks of his garden even, his mind was in the meantime occupied in crooked paths, plotting how to be brought again to be master of the Court; which was accomplished upon a night at midnight. When he came to the gates of the Castle of Stirling, they were opened unto him by the two Abbots, and a faction that they had drawn in there with them; albeit the Master of Mar and the Earl of Argile made what resistance they could, where the Master's eldest son died in the throng: yet the enterprisers prevailed, and brought in again the Earl of Morton, and put out the Earl of Argile, the Master of Mar, Drumwhasel, and such others as they misliked; and so made a new change at Court; where the Earl of Morton handled the matter so discreetly and moderately as he could, that the alteration should not appear to be oversharp or violent. The new chosen Council scattered incontinently, some of them retiring home, and some joined with the Earl of Morton, hoping never to see a turn again.

About this time came out of France my Lord of Aubigny, who was afterward made Duke of Lenox, who was brother's son to the Earl of Lenox, and obtained afterward great credit and favour.

James Stuart of Ochiltree, of whom I formerly made mention, assisted him through process of time to persuade the King's Majesty to desire to ride out of Stirling, and make a progress among the rest of his subjects; which the Earl of Morton could not resist, supposing that it lay in his power to frame the Court at his pleasure. For by his great wealth he was resolved to gain so many as he judged necessary, and so by the multitude of his friends to bear out the business, however the Court was ruled after he had obtained a discharge and acquittance of his intromission. For though during the time that he was

Regent, he was always strongest about the King; yet my Lord Aubigny and James Stuart were most in favour, who by their continual rounding in the King's ear against the Earl of Morton, engendered at last a greater dislike in the King of him than he had before. And as James Stuart was the stirrer up of the other, so afterward when he found the time convenient, he took occasion to accuse the said Earl before the Council, of the late King's murder. Whereupon the Earl of Morton was made prisoner, and sent to the Castle of Edinburgh, and afterward to the Castle of Dunbarton; which was thought strange, in respect of his many friends that were in Court for the time, who were then found to be but friends to his fortune. For he was loved by none, and envied and hated by many; so that they all looked through their fingers to see his fall.

England was also angry at him for the time, because of his slowness to answer their turns, which they hoped for at his hands, having put the King and country in his power. Yet they made some offer to assist him; which occasioned to hasten his ruin. For they sent down seventeen companies to the Borders, boasting to send a greater number, and to declare open war, in case the Earl of Morton was not set at liberty, and the Lord Aubigny put out of Scotland. Mr Randolph was sent in with this Ambassage.

His Majesty again having these two young counsellors about him, who knew of no perils, raised a taxation to pay soldiers, and caused to make a proclamation for every man to be in readiness upon a call: which moved the English to retire, and leave off endeavouring any more his assistance; encouraging thereby such as were deadly enemies to the Earl of Morton to ride to Dunbarton, with 1000 raised and hired men, together with their own friends, to bring the Earl of Morton back again to Edinburgh, to under-

go an assize. Some of the Earl's friends convened, to take him out of their hands; but found not themselves strong enough. They might have done it, had it not been the forces which had been newly levied, occasioned by the threatenings which England had made. Being brought to Edinburgh, he found few friends to appear or act for him. His gold and silver was transported long before, by his natural son James Douglas, and one of his servants called John Macmorran. It was first carried in barrels, and afterward hid in some secret parts; part whereof was given to be kept by some who were looked upon as his friends, who made ill accompt of it again: so that the most part thereof lighted in bad hands, and himself was so destitute of money, that when he went through the street to the Tolbooth, to undergo his assize, he was compelled to borrow twenty shillings to distribute to the poor, who asked alms of him for God's sake.

The assize condemned him to death, as being art and part in the King's murder, and as being of council with the Earl of Bothwell, who brought him out of banishment, when he was absent for the slaughter of David Riccio. He granted that he was made privy thereto; but had no hand in devising thereof. And as concerning the young King, he owned that he purposed to send him to England for his weal, that he might the rather obtain his right to the Crown of England, being within the country, and brought up among them. He died resolutely, and had ended more perfectly, if he had declared and confessed his worldly practices and fetches to nourish the civil troubles, partly at the devotion of England, and partly for his own particular profit, during the government of the first three Regents, which occasioned great blood-shedding, that commonly cries to heaven for vengeance.

During the King's young years, the partialities were

so great, and the whole country so disturbed by the two several parties, who alleged to fight and strive for the King and the Queen, being then captive in England, and the King yet very young; that many perceived them to be but factious, ambitious, avaricious, greedy, worldly, wretched persons. Both parties were craftily stirred up and kept in trouble by one only faction in England, who had that Queen's ear, intending the wreck as well of our King as Queen, to advance some of their friends to inherit the Crown of England, which occasioned a great outcry against our foolish contentions.

After that the Earl of Morton, the last of the four Regents, was deposed; the King's Majesty, being young, took the government into his own hands. My Lord of Aubigny, being made Lord Dalkeith, and afterward Duke of Lenox, was chief about his Majesty, and James Stuart, formerly mentioned; who afterward took unto himself the style, and then the Earldom of Arran, thinking that he had done great service, and deserved well, for accusing and wrecking the Earl of Morton. He married the Earl of March's relict.

The Duke was of nature upright, just and gentle; but wanted experience in the state of the country. At first he was wholly guided by the said James Stuart and his wife; who both began to envy him, and therefore they endeavoured how they might cast him off, that they might attain to the sole management of affairs; and for this end they gave him bad advice, and sinister informations against sundry of his best friends. And being likewise educated a Papist, and suspected to be at the Duke of Guise's devotion, and therefore a dangerous man to be about his Majesty; the whole country was stirred up against him; England by their Ambassador helping to kindle the fire. Mr David Macgil and Mr Henry Keer were

his chief counsellors, both wise enough for their own profit, but careless of his standing; and therefore not fit to counsel him who was his Majesty's greatest favourite. At the instigation and misinformation of the Earl of Arran and his lady, he first did cast off his true friend the Master of Mar Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, and after that Sir William Stuart Captain of Dunbarton, and then Alexander Clerk Provost of Edinburgh, and the Earl of Gowrie Treasurer.

The rest of the nobility were also dissatisfied to see these two young Lords only in favour with the King, finding that they both did aim at noblemen's lives, for their lands. And albeit some of them misliked the Earl of Morton's proceedings, yet they judged the taking of his life an hard preparative. They likewise suspected Religion to be in hazard, the one being a Papist, and the other a scorner of all Religion. They thought that from two such counsellors, no wholesome advice could proceed for the peace of the country, and the establishment of Religion. Therefore a number of them consulted together, to displace both the Duke and the Earl of Arran, to send the one to France, and to remove the other from Court. In the meantime they resolved to throng themselves in about the King, and to make a reformation of the abuses, and to environ his Majesty with their forces, so soon as he came to Dunfermling, whither he had appointed to come at his return out of Athole, where he was for the time a-hunting, and to present to him this supplication:—

"It may appear strange to your Majesty that we, your most humble and faithful subjects, are here convened beyond your expectation, and without your knowledge; but after your Majesty hath heard the urgent occasion that hath pressed us here to, your

Majesty will not marvel at this our honest, lawful and necessary enterprise.

"Sir, for the dutiful reverence that we owe unto your Majesty, and for that we abhor to attempt anything that may seem displeasing to your Majesty, we have for the space of two years suffered such false accusations, calumnies, oppressions and persecutions, by means of the Duke of Lenox, and him who is called Earl of Arran, that the like insolencies and enormities were never heretofore borne within Scotland. Which wrongs, albeit they were most intolerable, yet when they only touched us in particular, we comported with them patiently, ever attending when it should please your Majesty to give a remedy thereto.

"But seeing the persons aforesaid have plainly designed to trouble the whole body of the commonwealth, as well the ministers of the blessed Evangel, as the true professors thereof, but in special, that number of noblemen, Barons, Burgesses and Commonality, who did most worthily behave themselves in your Majesty's service, during your youth; whom principally and only they molest, and against whom they use most extremity and rigour of laws, oft-times most sinistrously perverting the same for their destruction, so that one part of these your best subjects are exiled, another part tormented, and put to questions, which they are not in law obliged to answer; and withal do execute with partiality and injustice all your laws. And if any escape their barbarous fury, they can have no access to your Majesty, but are falsely calumniated, and debarred from your presence, and kept out of your favour.

"Papists and most notable murderers are called home daily, and restored to their former honours and heritages, and oft-times highly rewarded with the offices and possessions of your most faithful servants.

"Finally, your Estate royal is not governed by the

Council of your nobility, as your most worthy progenitors used to do, but at the pleasure of the foresaid persons, who enterprise nothing but as they are directed by the Bishops of Glasgow and Ross, your denounced rebels, having with them adjoined in their ordinary councils the Pope's Nuncio, with the Ambassador of Spain, and such other of the Papists of France as endeavour to subvert the true Religion, and to bring your Majesty in discredit with your subjects. They travel to cause you negotiate and traffic with your mother, without the advice of your estates, persuading your Majesty to be reconciled with her, and to associate her conjunctly with you in the authority royal, meaning nothing other thereby but to convict us of usurpation and treason.

"And so having these your best subjects out of the way, who with the defence of your authority maintained the true Religion, as two things united and inseparable; what else could have followed but the wreck and destruction of both?

"For conclusion, your whole native country, for which, Sir, you must give an account to the eternal God, as we must be answerable to your Majesty, is so perturbed and altered, and the true Religion, the Commonwealth, your estate and person are in no less danger than when you were delivered out of the hands of the cruel murderers of your father: who they were we will not insist on at this present.

"Sir, beholding these great dangers to be imminent and at hand, without speedy help, and perceiving your noble person in such hazard, the preservation whereof is more precious to us than our own lives; finding also no appearance that your Majesty was forewarned hereof, but like to perish before you could see the peril: we thought that we could not be answerable to our eternal God, neither faithful subjects to your Majesty, if, according to our ability, we prevented

not this present distress, preserving your Majesty from the same.

" For this effect, with all dutiful humility and obedience, we your Majesty's true subjects are here convened, desiring your Majesty in the name of God, and for the love you bear to his true Religion, to your country, and Commonwealth, and as you would see the tranquillity of your own estate, to retire yourself to some part of the country, where your Majesty's person may be more safely preserved, and your nobility secured, who are under hazard of lands, life and heritages, And then your Majesty shall see the disloyalties, falsehoods, and treasons of the persons aforesaid, evidently proved and declared to their faces, to the glory of God, advancement of his true Religion, your Majesty's preservation and honour, and the deliverance of your troubled commonweal and country, and to their perpetual ignominy and shame."

At this highland-hunting his Majesty was very meanly accompanied. The Duke of Lenox tarried for the time at Dalkeith; the new Earl of Arran was at Kinneil. Many of the Council were appointed to hold Justice-eyres in divers shires of the country. I was ordained to hold the Justice-eyre of West-Lothian at Edinburgh with my Lord Newbottle, Mr David Macgil and Mr John Sharp. There came to my bed timely in the morning a gentleman, alleging that I had formerly done him courtesies, which to now he was never able to recompense, that he would make me the instrument of saving the King's Majesty my master out of the hands of those who were upon an enterprise to take and keep him. I said, I could hardly trust that; but I feared that the Duke of Lenox might be in hazard, who was gone to Glasgow to hold Justice-eyres, because of the hatred which I knew was borne him, especially for the maintaining the two,

Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow. He answered, They will lay hands first on the King's Majesty, and then the Duke and the Earl of Arran dare no more be seen, their insolency and misbehaviour being the cause of all the present disorders; for there is an enterprise to present a supplication against them to his Majesty. After he had told me this news, he desired me to conceal his name, though to tell the matter to his Majesty. He said, This turn would be done in ten days. And as I started up to put on my clothes, he slipped to the door with a short farewell.

Because the Duke was at Dalkeith, I did ride thither, and showed him the whole matter, advising him to ride himself to his Majesty with this advertisement, for his own security; but he chose rather to direct a gentleman with all possible diligence to his Majesty willing me also to write unto the Earl of Gowrie; for the gentleman had not named him to me with the rest of the enterprisers; either out of forgetfulness, or else because he was but lately won to that purpose by the Laird of Drumwhasel, who had assured him that the Duke of Lenox had determined to slay him at the first meeting; persuading the Earl, upon this ground, to join with the rest of the noblemen, who were determined to reform the estate. Unto the which invented advertisement he too easily gave credit, and so joined with the rest of the nobility who were minded to present the forenamed supplication to the King at his coming to Dunfermling.

It is certain that the Duke of Lenox was led by evil counsel and wrong informations, whereby he was moved to meddle in such hurtful and dangerous courses, that the rest of the nobility became jealous of his intentions, and feared their estates. As for the Earl of Arran, they detested his proceedings, and esteemed him the worst and most insolent instrument

that could be found out, to wreck King, Kirk and country. The Duke had been tolerable, had he happened upon as honest counsellors, as he was well inclined of himself: but he wanted experience, and was noways versed in the state of the country, nor brought up in our Religion, which, by time, he might have been brought to have embraced. But the Earl of Arran was a scorner of Religion, persumptuous, ambitious, covetous, careless of the Commonwealth, a despiser of the nobility, and of all honest men; so that every man was expecting a sudden change: which should have been made in Dunfermling, in presenting the above specified supplication. But what moved the Lords to surprise his Majesty within the house of Huntingtower, I know not; if it was not to embark the Earl of Gowrie, whose house it was, more deeply in their bond; or that they, fearing their enterprise to be discovered, made the greater haste, and stayed his Majesty in that place, which was afterward called the Road[1] of Ruthven.

After that the Duke of Lenox was advertised of this enterprise, he sent for the Earl of Arran, who was peaceably passing his time in Kinneil. He took in hand to ride out and save the King, boasting that he would chase all the Lords into mouse-holes: but he was chased, and saved himself in the house of Ruthven, where they had shortly made an end of him, had not the Earl of Gowrie interceded for his life, whose destiny it was to keep him alive to be his own wreck afterwards. The Duke of Lenox being advertised that his Majesty was in their hands, retired himself to Dumbarton; and his Majesty was conveyed to Stirling, and there retained.

The King of France and the Queen of England being informed that the King was taken and kept in custody, sent each of them an Ambassador to this

[1] Raid.

country to comfort his Majesty, to see what the matter meant, and to offer him their best assistance, in case he required the same, and declared that he had been taken and kept against his will. But after great thanks given unto the said Ambassadors, the King willed them to declare unto their princes, that he was very well satisfied with the Lords who were about him, and that they were all his own subjects, willing to obey him; but that they had conceived some hard apprehensions of the Duke of Lenox, and some others who had been about him before: albeit his heart was full of sorrow and displeasure, as he told himself afterward, and even then likewise to Mr Cary cousin to the Queen of England, who whispered in his Majesty's ear, requesting him to tell the plain verity, which he should keep secret from Mr Bowes his companion, and also from the Lords, and should only show his inward mind privily to his mistress the Queen. Yet it neither appeared by the success to have been kept secret, nor did that Queen make any further instance for his liberty.

The Lords in the meantime thought meet to hold a Council, to resolve what course to take, wherein it was determined that their enterprise was good service to his Majesty, the Kirk, and Commonwealth; which his Majesty granted also to be true: whereupon an Act of council was formed. At that same time the general assembly of the Kirk was held at Edinburgh, to the which his Majesty was moved to send two commissioners, to testify that he had allowed for good service the said Lords' enterprise, desiring likewise the Kirk to find it good for their parts, and to ordain the ministers, and commissioners of every shire to publish the same to their parishioners, and to get the principal gentlemen's subscriptions to maintain the same. Notwithstanding all this, his Majesty took the matter further to heart than any man would have believed.

He lamented his mishandling to sundry noblemen and others; and at length acquainted some of them, that he intended to relieve himself through time out of their hands who held him as captive. He desired such as he trusted in, to assist him with their counsel and help.

The Lords again who were joined together for the reformation of the state, being rid of the Duke of Lenox who had passed through England to France, where he shortly after died of a sickness contracted through displeasure; and being also rid of the Earl of Arran, whom they kept captive in the custody of the Earl of Gowrie: they retired themselves from the Court to their houses, that his Majesty should not think himself any way deprived of his liberty by them; for they had got some intelligence of his inward grief, for his taking and retaining. Whereupon his Majesty takes occasion to appoint a convention to be holden in St Andrew's, for some English affairs, after the returning of Mr John Covil and Colonel Stuart, who both had been sent thither, and had not agreed well concerning their commission, having brought back again different answers. To the which convention his Majesty, by missives, invited some of the nobility; but he called none of the Lords thereto who had lately left him, supposing that, perceiving themselves so far slighted, they would not come unwritten for; and that way he thought he might slip himself out of their hands, and retain about him such Lords as he had written for, to wit, the Earls of Argile, Huntly, Montrose, Crawford, Rothes, and the Earl of March, who was an indweller in St Andrews for the time, and the Earl of Gowrie of whom he judged himself assured, though for some respects he would not employ him till afterwards, lest the rest of his associates should allege that he had left them unhandsomely. For the said Earl had repented him that he had suffered him-

self to be drawn in by Drumwhasel to join with the rest, after that he had received sure information that the Duke of Lenox had not laid for his slaughter, as was alleged. Therefore he repented his folly, and offered at all occasions to help to set him at liberty.

So his Majesty thinking himself assured of all these noblemen, the day appointed for the convention drawing near, it pleased him to send Colonel Stuart to my house, showing me that his Majesty having somewhat to do of great concernment, he had directed him unto me as to one of his most faithful servants, of whose fidelity and foresight he had formerly had sufficient proof, by the true warning I had made him before the alteration. As a sworn Gentleman of his Chamber, he desired that I would help him to his liberty, which he was determined to attain at his being at St Andrews, whither he was resolved to go shortly to a convention, to which he desired my assistance and advice, his Majesty being minded, as he said, to follow my counsel so long as he lived, willing me not to refuse any service that his Majesty would demand of me at meeting.

This commission was to me very unpleasant, for I had taken my leave of the Court, as being wearied with the many alterations I had seen, both at home and in foreign Courts, having got great trouble and damage to myself for other men's causes. Therefore I had determined to be no more concerned in public affairs, but to lead a quiet contemplative life the rest of my days. This desire of my Prince and master was like to put me from this resolution. In this perplexity I had recourse by humble prayer to God, so to direct my actings as they might tend to his glory and to the weal of my Prince and country. And thereafter, according to my dutiful obedience, I went unto his Majesty. When I came to him at Falkland, he told me of his resolution, lamenting his hard state and mishandling

by his own subjects, and what displeasure he had taken, and that he was thought but a beast by all neighbouring princes, for suffering so many indignities.

I again discoursed unto his Majesty about the common estate of all countries during their prince's minority, the nobility striving for state and for the chief handling, whereby to advance themselves and their friends. As did the house of Guise during the young age of King Francis II, the Prince of Condé during the reign of King Charles II of France; and also the King of Navarre: likewise the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland during the youth of King Edward VI of England. And as well in the Queen his mother's time, as in his own time, some aiming to advance their own affairs, some to defend and maintain their own estate, engaged in divers enterprises and strifes, none of the parties bearing any evil will to his Majesty, but every one being in love with him, and desiring to be nearest to his person. And albeit some of them be oft-times transported, either by ambition, greediness or vengeance, to outshoot themselves and forget their duty; yet princes who are wise and come to perfect age, have ever found it their interest to pardon and oversee all such faults as have been committed at such times by too great a number of subjects. Now when Charles IX agreed with the Prince of Condé, all his former offences were reckoned for good service: and as your Majesty hath done in agreeing with so many of your nobility as were in fear that the Duke of Lenox and Earl of Arran would wrong both them and the country, as they did allege.

Now, Sir, if your Majesty shall slip from them, they will think their estate in greater danger than ever; not from yourself, but from some of their unfriends who may fall in again about you. And albeit

they be presently absent, they have both a guard and some of their friends presently about your Majesty, and so they will not fail to keep the convention, and be as soon at St Andrews as the other Lords, whom your Majesty hath invited by letters. For it stands them upon their lives and fortunes to be still chief about your Majesty. Therefore saving your Majesty's own pleasure I judge you presently in a far better and safer condition, than you will be by abandoning them, in case you get it not well effected; wherein there will be found greater difficulty than your Majesty hath yet deeply considered, as the importance of the case requires.

All these dissuasions had no force to stay his Majesty from his former deliberation, as having taken up a great displeasure, and a princely courage either to liberate himself fully, or die in the attempt. But, for to follow the example of other wise princes, as he had begun himself, to allow for good service the enterprise called the Road of Ruthven; so he resolved that being at liberty, he would make a general act of oblivion for all bygone faults and errors committed by his nobility and subjects during his minority, and from that time forth to be as a father to the country, and a just and equal prince to all his subjects; that no man's life, no man's land, goods, nor office should be taken from them. That as the fittest and most effectual way for settling peace in the country he would give satisfaction to the church and their desires. That he would keep about his person the most virtuous and discreet of his nobility and gentry who could be found. His Majesty engaged also to me, to be secret, constant, and counsellable.

For the better management then of his Majesty's design, it was thought expedient, that he should be in St Andrews some few days before the convention, that being once there, proclamation might be issued

out, to forbid any nobleman or other to come to the convention, without being expressly called by letter from his Majesty. For this end it was advised, that the Earl of March should invite his Majesty to be at St Andrews two or three days before the Convention, by reason of his preparation of wild meat and other fleshes, that would spoil in case his Majesty came not to make good cheer with him some days before. Whereupon his Majesty went forward, contrary to my opinion and the judgment of some others about him, who though we were sensible of the inconveniences which might follow, durst not be so bold as to stay him, though we told his Majesty our opinion, that we judged it was hazardous for him to ride, till the Lords, who had been advertised to attend him, might come forward. Nevertheless he went on, and advertised the Earl of March, the Provost of St Andrews, and other Barons to attend him at Dairsy. Where meeting them, his Majesty thought himself at liberty, expressing great joy, like a bird flown out of a cage, passing his time in hawking by the way after his meeting them, thinking himself sure enough, albeit I thought his estate far surer when he was in Falkland. For when he came to St Andrews he lodged in an old inn, a very open part, the yard dikes being his greatest strength; few of the Lords he had written for being yet come, except only the Earl of Crawford, who was near.

In the meantime I perceived the folly, and went to the Provost of the town, desiring to know what forces he had within the town at his devotion? He answered, very few, and those not to be trusted to. I asked who was in the Castle? He told me, the Bishop; with whom I dealt incontinently, to have the Castle in readiness to receive his Majesty; which he promised to do. But when I returned to his Majesty, believing that the proclamation had been made, that no man should come to the convention but such as had been written for, I

found that the Abbot of Dunfermling was arrived out of Lochlevin, and the Earl Marischal out of Dundee. The Earl of Mar was still with his Majesty; but all the Lords were advertised with diligence from Falkland, that his Majesty was suddenly gone for St Andrews, desiring them to make haste to go thither, else they would be late. The said Abbot for his part was soon enough there, and behaved himself with great dissimulation, extolling his Majesty's enterprise, so that he gained so much credit as to cast down all their devices who were upon the King's side, though he was a special doer for the contrary party. He said, it was not fit by proclamation to stay the nobility, but rather to write missives to them, not to come accompanied with any more than two persons with every noblemen.

When his Majesty told me this, I was very angry, and showed him that this was the ready way to put him again in their hands, without thanks from whom he had lately fled, assuring his Majesty that they were coming forward very strong and in arms, and would be sooner there than those Lords he had written for, adding, that they might come in quietly themselves, and cause their companies to come in by two's and three's to the town, whereas it had been better to let them come in all together, that their whole forces might have been seen. Yet his Majesty was loth to enter within the Castle that night for his greater security, until it was very late after supper, giving those that were there already time to advise, and to enterprise that same night to take him again, in case he had gone to the abbey yards to walk, as they had persuaded him, till the Castle was prepared. And some were already entered the said yard for that effect in armour, whereof I had some suspicion, and therefore instantly advertised his Majesty, who thereupon changed his resolution, and passed by the yard-gate to the Castle.

The next day the whole Lords, as well written for as unwritten for, arrived at St Andrews; the King's Lords quite without armour, the other Lords strongly armed. The Earl Marischal and Mar, and the Abbot of Dunfermling lodged within the Castle with his Majesty, where the crafty Abbot counselled the King to let none of the Lords come within the Castle accompanied with more than twelve persons. He ever appeared to favour the King's intention, and therefore this crafty counsel was followed. The next morning the Castle was full of men; and those of the contrary party, being well-armed, had already taken the stair-heads and galleries, resolving again to be masters of the King and all the rest: which being too late perceived, diligence was incontinently used to bring within the Castle all the Earl of March's gentlemen, with the Lairds of Dairsy, Balcomy, Segie, Forret, Barns,[1] and others, with so many of the town as were at the Provost's devotion; which for that night prevented the foresaid design.

The Earl of Gowrie was also a great stay in that matter; for albeit he came thither as strong, and as angry as any of the Lords; yet he was advertised of the King's goodwill towards him, and so was drawn from the rest. That dangerous day being thus passed without any harm done, the next day such order was taken, as his Majesty was master of the Castle, following no more the said Abbot's counsel, but declared his moderate intentions to all the Lords, to the Fife Barons, and towns upon the coast side, who had been sent for, and likewise to the ministers and masters of the college; namely, " that albeit he had been detained against his will for some time; yet he intended not to impute it as a crime, nor to remember anything done in his minority, but that he would pass an act of oblivion as to all that was past; satisfy the demands of the Church; agree parties among whom there were differ-

[1] Mostly Lairds in Fife.

ences and to carry himself to all his subjects equally, knowing none of them to bear him any evil will, and that they had been driven to enterprise the thing they had done, by the force of their factious partialities": using many other such words of clemency and discretion, to all their contentments. Thereafter he ordained four Lords, two of every faction, to retire them for a while, to wit, the Earls of Angus, Bothwell, Huntly, and Crawford; retaining all the rest about him as indifferent for his ordinary council, by whose advice he was resolved to settle his estate, and thereafter to bring again to Court the whole Lords abovenamed. Then his Majesty called for me before a number of the said Lords, and gave me greater commendation and thanks than I had merited, as being the only instrument, under God, of his liberty. His Majesty caused also to make a proclamation, conform to his former promises and moderate intention: but I took no pleasure to be praised in presence of so many, answering to his Majesty, 'that I had already displeased all those who were upon the purpose of his detention.'

Now matters being settled in appearance, and this design successfully ended, some of the King's Lords who had been slow in coming (and when they were come, finding the Lords of the contrary faction strong and in armour) denied that they knew anything of his Majesty's enterprise, laying the whole burden upon Colonel Stuart and me. But when they saw appearance of a prosperous success, they took the matter stoutly upon them, and began in plain council to tell how long they had been upon the council of that enterprise with his Majesty, and how long waiting for his advertisement.

Of a truth his Majesty was of a merciful mind, and gently inclined toward all the nobility, intending to win all their hearts by his own discreet behaviour, and

to that effect he went first to the house of Ruthven, to let the country see that he was entirely reconciled to the Earl of Gowrie. Where after he had royally entertained his Majesty, he fell down upon his knees, lamenting that his Majesty should have been retained in that unhappy house at his last being there, which he said, fell out rather by accident than deliberation, only for the safety of the Earl of Arran's life: alleging that he knew no other thing, than that at his Majesty's being at Dunfermling, they were minded to present him an humble supplication, asking pardon for that accidental fault: which his Majesty graciously promised never to impute to him, knowing how blindly he was brought upon it by the practices of others.

In the meantime James Stuart, Earl of Arran, had obtained the favour to be warded in Kinneil, his own house, and sent and congratulated his Majesty's liberty, begging that he might have access to come and kiss his hand; which was plainly refused. Then he sent daily his opinion and advices to his Majesty, how to proceed against divers of the nobility, and others; advising to bring back to Court the Earls of Huntly and Crawford: which was too easily condescended to by the Earls of Argile and Montrose, only the Earl of Gowrie resisted, alleging, that the Earls of Bothwell and Angus were put in hopes to be brought in with them, or as soon as they. But the equality expected was soon forgot: which moved the Earl Marischal and others to retire to their houses.

The Abbot of Dunfermling remained still at Court and to curry favour of Colonel Stuart then Captain of the guard, he gave him a purse of thirty pieces of gold at four pound the piece; which pieces the Colonel distributed to so many of the guard, who bored them and set them like targets upon their knapsacks, and the purse was borne upon a spear-point like an ensign. The Abbot shortly after was warded in Lochlevin.

Mr John Colvil, the Laird of Cleish, and Drumwhasel were also warded by the advice of the Earl of Arran and his wife, who continually solicited his Majesty that they might come to Court. And at length I was requested by his agent James Stuart, to deal with his Majesty to permit the said Earl to come again to the Court: for he said, that his Majesty was favourable enough, and that the Earls of Argile, Huntly, Crawford, and Montrose had not only given their consent, but that the Earls of Argile and Montrose had said unto his Majesty, that they would ride themselves and fetch him; only the Earl of Gowrie resisted; and that the King had shown him that he would do nothing therein without my consent and advice. I answered, that his Majesty needed not my consent, if himself and so many noblemen were content. He replied again, that his Majesty reposed more upon me at that time, than upon all his Council, as his Majesty had shown him; and that he would not bring him without my consent. Whereupon I went unto his Majesty, and showed him what language the Earl of Arran's servant had to me, concerning his master's coming to Court, and that his Majesty laid too great a burden upon me, to say that he would do nothing therein without my consent. Thereupon his Majesty took me to the gallery of Falkland, lamenting, as he had been informed, the loss of many of his best friends, as the Earls of Lenox, Athole, and Duke of Lenox: and now, says he, they will not permit the Earl of Arran, who hazarded his life to relieve me, to come and see me. He desired me to acquaint him what might be the occasion they hated him so much. My answer was, that to tell the verity perilled myself, to conceal the truth endangered his Majesty. He would needs know my meaning therein.

I said, the Earl of Arran is one of the worst instruments can come about you, whereof your Majesty

hath had too sure a proof, his misbehaviour being the only occasion of the late enterprise; and if he ever be again admitted about your Majesty, the like or worse will follow. Thereupon 'tis dangerous to myself to acquaint your Majesty herewith, seeing it will occasion him to be my deadly enemy, if he ever get notice thereof. Then his Majesty desired only to let him come and kiss his hand, promising he should not tarry; entreating me to deal with my Lord of Gowrie, that he would also grant that he might but once come to Court, and he should incontinently return to his house without any stay. I said, I should cause him to yield to his Majesty's pleasure.

In the meantime I took occasion to declare unto his Majesty, how that many great Princes are wrecked by their ambitious counsellors, who will rule all alone, taking upon them a greater burden than they can bear: for remedy whereof, his Majesty should spend every day but one hour, to hear a chosen number of honest counsellors reason upon his affairs; then himself to give his opinion what he thinks fittest to be done, as the King of France used to do. Which his Majesty granted very willingly, and so long as he kept that order by the ordinary council-days, his turns went rightly forward. The whole Lords who assisted his Majesty were of his Council, Sir Robert my brother, Colonel Stuart, the Laird of Segie, and myself.

But as soon as the Earl of Arran got access to his Majesty, he not only stayed at Court against promise, but also within a short time altered all this way of procedure, with a design to draw the management of all public affairs to himself. At his first entry he carried himself very humbly; for after he had kissed his Majesty's hand, he embraced me and kissed my cheek, giving me many thanks in his Majesty's presence, alleging, that the whole name of Stuarts was obliged to me, for the notable service, he alleged, I

had done his Majesty: as for him, he said, he should never take anything in hand, but be therein directed by my brother and me. But Colonel Stuart and he spoke not together, until his Majesty desired me to agree them, which after much travel I did at length. At first the Colonel swore a great oath, 'that if his Majesty suffered that villain to remain at Court, he would yet again undo all.' For a little time he kept himself quiet; but there was no appearance of his home-going. Sometimes he would reprove my gentle kind of procedure in his Majesty affairs, and could not endure to see them handled by a number. He insinuated to his Majesty, that he would find it a troublesome business to be incumbered with many contrary opinions. He desired him to recreate himself at hunting, and he would attend the Council, and report again at his Majesty's return, all our opinions and conclusions. This he observed two or three times, and so in a very short space changed the former order laid down to have been followed: so that he gave account of no man's advice but his own; yet he made his Majesty believe that it was all our opinions, that it was his interest to follow a violent course. And though the same was directly against his Majesty's first deliberation, intention, and proclamation of clemency; yet he caused to make contrary proclamations against those of the Road of Ruthven, ordaining them all to take remissions for that which before was allowed for good service, moving divers noblemen and others to withdraw from the Court, for fear, to some place of security.

When he caused to be read before the council his new invented proclamation, I downright opposed myself to it, saying, that I knew it was directly against his Majesty's mind and promise. Whereupon he leapt out of the council-house in a rage, and said, I would wreck the King by my manner of doings. I

answered, either you or I, my Lord; with other sharp pricking language, so that for that time it was stayed. Afterward he waited a meet occasion to get it passed, having procured a flattering faction to assist him, in expectation to be made sharers of the spoil he hoped to make, a part whereof he had promised them, to gain their votes to his desire. And so all things were turned upside-down, a great number of noblemen and others being put thereby in fear of their lives and estates. And when any of us who were desirous of his Majesty's quiet and prosperous estate, would acquaint his Majesty with the danger of these proceedings of the Earl, he would be very sorry, saying, the Earl made him believe that he did nothing but by common consent of the Council. And when his Majesty understood the contrary, he was very earnest and willing to amend the disorder, but was still circumvented by the said Earl, and such as for fear, flattery, or expectation of profit, advanced all his designs.

About this time there came a sharp letter from the Queen of England unto his Majesty, who thought the noblemen who were aimed at, and were absent from Court, fittest instruments to be about his Majesty; and for entertaining of amity and concord betwixt their Majesties and kingdoms, she was not content to see them so hardly handled. The copy of which letter I have here inserted:—

"Among your many studies, my dear brother and cousin, I wish Isocrates's noble lesson were not forgotten, that wills the Emperor his sovereign to make his words of more account than other men do their oaths, as meetest ensigns to show the truest badge of a prince's arms. It moveth me much to moan you, when I behold how diversely sundry wicked spirits abstract your mind, and bend your course to crooked paths and evil illusions, wrapt under the cloak of your

best good. How can it be that you can suppose an honourable and satisfactory answer can be made unto me, when all your actings gainsay your former vows? You deal with one whose experience will not take dross for good payment, and with one who will not be easily beguiled. No, no: I mind to send to school your craftiest counsellors. I am sorry to find you bent to wrong yourself, in thinking to injure others; yea those, who if they had taken the opportunity in their hands, they might have done you more prejudice than a thousand such men's lives be worth, who persuade you to avow such deeds, as to oblige the best deserving of your subjects to demand a faultless pardon. Why do you forget what you wrote to myself with your own hand, showing how dangerous a course the Duke was entered in, though you seemed to excuse him, as if he had intended no evil therein? And yet you would make them guilty who delivered you therefrom. I hope you more esteem your honour, than to give it such a stain; since you have so oft protested, that you was resolved to notice these Lords as your most affectionate subjects, in the full persuasion that all they had done was by them intended for your advantage. To conclude, I beseech you proceed no further in this course, till you receive an express messenger, a trusty servant of mine, by whom I intend to deal as an affectionate sister with you, as one from whom you may see you shall receive honour and contentment, with more surety to yourself and state, than by following the pernicious counsels of these crafty dissembling counsellors, as knows the Lord; to whose safe keeping I do commit you.

"Your most assured and faithfullest sister
and cousin,
"ELIZABETH."

Unto this letter his Majesty commanded me in his

name to write an answer, that he might write it over again with his own hand: for the Secretary for the time was in suspicion to have been upon the contrary course. The answer was as followeth:

"MADAM,

"I have received a letter of yours, containing in the entry that sentence of Isocrates, which willeth princes' words to be more entirely observed than other men's oaths; as though some sinister report were made unto you of some forgetfulness in me, or that you fear, that in time coming I fail in keeping such promises unto my friends, as may be made upon just and convenient occasions.

"For answer unto that head, I remember another saying of Isocrates, where he would not have them repute friends who allow or praise whatsoever we say or do, but rather such who modestly reprove our faults. So that I take your sharp admonition at this time as proceeding from a sisterly love, albeit upon wrong information; hoping that so soon as you shall truly understand of my hard handling and patient behaviour, you shall be so well satisfied, as to deem me to have done nothing but that which you would have done yourself in the like condition.

"First, when I was detained captive under a fair pretext, it pleased you to send your Ambassadors (like as did the King of France) friendly to visit me, offering me great kindness and help, in case I needed any for the time; for which I do yet render your Majesty hearty thanks: which offer I did not think fit to embrace, alleging that I was well content, and had good friends about me, which was very true; for one part of these same Lords who were then about me perceiving my grief and miscontent, offered then to relieve me, whensoever I would desire to be at greater liberty. Whereupon I made you then that answer

whereof you make mention in your letter, as I gave the like answer to the French Ambassador. Nevertheless I was resolved at a fit time to relieve myself, for my honour, as I have done lately; following another saying of Isocrates, willing princes to hazard rather to die honestly, than to reign shamefully: for how I did reign for the time, you might know by your cousin, Mr Cary, in whose ear I rounded my familiar inward grief, because, he said, you desired him to require it at me apart, promising that it should be secretly kept from all others; albeit I used not such freedom with Mr Bowes. Indeed I subscribed such writs and letters as the said Lords presented to me; for the time was unfit to dispute too precisely upon circumstances that were determined by those who were masters of me and the state.

"This answer I suppose will satisfy your own reasonable and equitable judgment, discreetly considering the same with yourself apart. I doubt if it will be so interpreted by others of your council, who have particular designs of their own; to whom, because I impute the whole hard language contained in your angry letter, and not to yourself and gentle inclination, I think it needful now to write an answer unto every part of the same. So, attending patiently upon your better intelligence and information in these matters, I will rather retain in my memory your former fruitful friendship, than now start at any wrong set syllable or sour sentence, placed in your paper at the partial instance of others.

"As concerning that which toucheth the Duke of Lenox, his godly end hath declared his honest meaning; whose death I might justly lay upon such as forcibly removed him from my presence: nevertheless I resolve to put all bygones in oblivion, neither to compel any man to take a faultless pardon.

"Where you desire that I proceed no further until

a trusty messenger may come from you, I intend to stay from doing anything till then, that you may be justly offended with (albeit Isocrates advises princes speedily to execute such turns as good counsel thinks necessary to be done) wishing that he who shall be sent may be as willing to work the effects of true love and friendship betwixt us, as I am assured it is both our hearts' desire and intention: whereto I pray the Lord to grant increase, continuance and happiness, to his glory, and to the weal, peace and quiet of both our realms."

The Secretary Walsingham was he of whom mention is made in her Majesty's letter to be sent in here; but he was long by the way, by reason that he was sickly. In the meantime Mr Bowes, who was Ambassador resident at Edinburgh, had received this letter by the ordinary post, and returned the answer. He declared many commendations, from my Lord Burleigh and several of the Council of England, to my brother Sir Robert and me, alleging that they were glad to hear that such men were about his Majesty, that were of their Religion, and with whom they were long acquainted, wishing many such to be in Court.

About this time the Earl of Arran obtained the keeping of the Castle of Stirling, and insinuated himself so far upon his Majesty, that he took upon him the whole management of affairs, and caused sundry noblemen to be banished, as the Earls of Mar, Angus, and the Master of Glammis, and divers others: and by his insolency he drove the Earl of Gowrie from Court, far against his Majesty's intention; who sent me for him to his house, to bring him again to Court, which was for the time at Cowpar in Fife, where his Majesty agreed him and the Earl of Arran. But no conditions promised were kept to Gowrie, so that he was so vexed, that he resolved to leave the country.

I have already declared, how loth I was, that either his Majesty should leave the Lords who were about him, or that I should in any wise be a meddler again in public affairs, considering the many alterations I had seen by long and hurtful experience: yet the affection I had for his Majesty engaged me not to refuse his commands, being my native prince and master, and I his humble subject and sworn servant, first as his domestic, as being one of the gentlemen of his chamber, and a member of his Privy Council. But after, his Majesty being taken, I was no more admitted by his keepers; who thought fit for their security, to place such men about him as were entirely at their devotion. As for my part, as I was sorry that his Majesty should be used any other way than at his own pleasure, so I was much satisfied to be permitted to live quietly at home the rest of my days; yet being called again by his Majesty, I waited upon his commands.

Now again perceiving his Majesty's most acceptable proclamations slyly and cunningly changed, contrary to his Majesty's merciful intentions, by issuing out contrary proclamations, and intending violent pursuits against those concerned in the Road of Ruthven, whereby too great a number of noblemen and gentlemen despaired of their safety and lives, in a lamenting manner I remembered his Majesty, how he was abused, and what great inconveniences were like to ensue. Thereupon his Majesty, upon my relation, appeared very sorrowful, and assured me of his resolution to amend these disorders. But it was his misfortune to advise thereabouts with those who underhand were chief instruments therein; believing that because he loved them, they also loved him and the weal of his affairs. They again, making some appearance of intentions of satisfying his expectation, indirectly, by means of too many who depended upon

the Earl of Arran's extraordinary credit and favour, the contrary to his Majesty's princely and upright meaning was brought about; so that many noblemen left the country, and all honest men left the Court, to the great satisfaction of the Earl of Arran and his wife, who had the greater opportunity of guiding all. And, that they might the easier set forward this course, they persuaded his Majesty to pass to Stirling, whither they knew few or none durst repair who were not at his devotion, he being Captain of the said Castle, and provost of the town. After I had frequently warned his Majesty of the storm I did foresee coming, I retired myself from Court.

His Majesty, being at Stirling, asked frequently for me, regretting that I was not continually with him. Whereupon the Earl of Arran advised that I should be sent Ambassador to the Queen of England upon some pretended affair, as well to absent me from his Majesty, who he perceived had some favour for me, as to take occasion upon my return to bring me in disgrace, as if I had been guilty of some mismanagement, because he knew, that as matters stood, I could do no good at that time. And commonly, when men's commissions take no good effect, they are calumniated by their enemies and enviers, as unfit instruments, unskilful and indiscreet. Which calumnies get oftimes too much credit, when matters succeed not conform to the desire of the master. For this end he had engaged his Majesty to write for me: but before his letter came to my hands for the said voyage, I had indited a long letter to have sent unto his Majesty, as a remembrancer of his former promises, intentions and proclamations; showing what inconveniences were like to ensue the setting forward of a contrary course, together with such remedies as I could judge meetest for the time.

The tenor of his Majesty's letter to me was, that he

had some matters to communicate to me, wherein he resolved to employ both my advice and pains: and therefore he desired me to come to Stirling with all convenient expedition after the sight of the said letter, where I should understand more amply the occasion of my being sent for, as I would do him accountable pleasure and good service. Written from the Castle of Stirling, the 22d of October 1583.

After the receipt of this letter, I did ride unto his Majesty, and took with me the letter which I had penned before; whereof the copy followeth:

"Sir,

"As it hath pleased your Majesty heretofore to accept of my will for agreeable service, even so I hope that your highness's constant favour shall continue toward me now, and in time coming, notwithstanding my present absence. For albeit that, during your Majesty's young age, I was suffered to live happily at home, from the handling of public affairs; yet I found myself obliged to bear my proportionable burden in your service, so soon as it should please your Majesty to lay your commands on me for that effect, being then most assured to walk in a just and lawful vocation; which, to give continual testimony of my dutiful obedience, not presuming to give your Majesty counsel, I have only taken the boldness to present to you in these few lines my simple opinion of things that are apparently to fall out upon your Majesty's late proceedings.

"For when it pleased your Majesty, at your first going to St Andrews, to take upon yourself the free government of your affairs; your Majesty's gracious intention and proposition then was not only most agreeable to all the Lords, Barons, and Ministers there present for the time, but also to the rest of your good subjects, when as they understood of your merciful

inclinations. Which being now otherwise overturned, than was either first intended or determined, is able to breed cumber and disorder, unless your Majesty by wisdom and dexterity prevent the apparent inconveniences. For it pleased your Majesty then openly to declare, how that you only sought, with your own reputation and safety, the weal and safety of your whole subjects, as being willing to give satisfaction to the demands of the church, to agree all parties, to blot out of memory the name of factions, and put in perpetual oblivion all crimes committed in your Majesty's minority, acknowledging all such as chanced to be done during the same but to have fallen out betwixt subject and subject, for such particular respects as your Majesty never purposed to impute to any of their charges, but to reign over them all in times coming as a gracious father, and that by the advice of the least factious and best affected of the nobility, Barons, and other sufficient subjects: no man to be placed about, or proscribed from your Majesty, by favour or sirname, kin, friend or ally, but for sufficiency, virtue and loyalty: as also, if any were to be absented, or sent home for a time; it should not be done at the instance of any envious suitor of his office, or particular party; but for your Majesty's honour and safety, during your pleasure; leaving them still in hope, through good behaviour to obtain again familiar access about your Majesty, as formerly.

"If this calm course had been followed, there was appearance of a quiet state. But the altering and changing this gentle kind of dealing to a sharp and violent pursuit of sundry, by seeking out over many faults in the persons of so many great and active men, hath bred such discontent and so furious a faction, that if sudden remedy be not provided, civil dissension and despaired enterprises ought to be looked for by all such as have sufficient experience of the nature of

Scotsmen, and seemly intelligenced of the deportment of divers, which the necessity of their unsure estate may well drive them honestly to take in hand.

"It is true that the flourishing of Commonwealths consists much in the rewarding of the good, and punishing of the wicked. No doubt but faults enough have been done during your nonage; but to seek them out narrowly, and to punish them severely, in such cases and at such times, in matters wherein many have dipped, is no safe course. Yea, though your Majesty were willing, as I know you are not, I cannot see how you can get it done against so great a number, having so small substance and few forces, and so potent and mighty neighbours lying still at wait upon all such controversies and occasions, to take advantage thereof, whereby to serve their own turn. This consideration also ought presently to be noticed, that the wonted reverence borne by the subjects unto the princely authority of their sovereigns is much decayed in this kingdom, by reason of the Queen's youth and long absence; and even so in your Majesty's time for the like causes, but chiefly because that your Majesties being yet young, have been accompanied this time past with the youngest and meanest sort of your nobility; who, albeit they may be faithful and honest to set forward your service, yet the rest of your subjects, alleging them to be factious, ignorant and covetous, doubt of their discreet behaviour, seeing their intentions are to rule by force. Hardly may a prince assure himself at all occasions to choose a sure course, wherein there shall be no peril; for commonly, thinking to escape out of one inconveniency, he falls oft-times into another: therefore prudence consists in understanding the quality of dangers, and in choosing the least evil for the best.

"Some kingdoms and countries are governed by force, some by fairness; on the other part, subjects

obey either for awe, or love. That prince is reputed of no value, who cannot win the hearts of his subjects by one of these two: for either must the means be taken at once from such as are suspected deservedly, whereby they may do harm; or else they must be satisfied in such sort as in reason they may be content, and so serve for love and not for awe. So that it is easy to judge which of these two governments may be meetest for your Majesty.

" The Emperor Trajan, being demanded wherefore his subjects loved and honoured him above his predecessors, answered, Because I forgive them who offend me, and never forget any who have done me service. Julius Pollux, master to Cæsar, points out a true prince to be of divine countenance, godly, merciful, just, equitable, careful of his affairs, constant in his deeds, true in his promises, subject unto reason, master over his affections, fatherly towards his subjects, of easy access, gentle to be spoken to, ready to forgive, slow to punish, princely, liberal, subtle, secret, and sharp of ingeny.

" Now, because it appeareth your Majesty in youth hath been sufficiently versed in many of these virtuous precepts, I wish from my heart that such impressions may be as well taken of them that are presently about you, seeing that princes are commonly deemed to be like those whom they make most their familiars.

" Therefore, Sir, for eschewing all those evils, and to put the nearest remedy unto all the appearing inconveniences, it is fit, so soon as it may please your Majesty, to pass to Edinburgh, to convene the most ancient of your nobility and Barons of best reputation, by whose advice, together with those that are already in Court, your country may be quieted, and your subjects satisfied. For now, as matters are handled, to speak of clemency by causing them to take remissions, it will want credit, and be ill interpreted, as not conform to your Majesty's first declaration.

"The Emperor Adrian inquired after men of great age and experience, and helped himself by their many perils.

"Alexander Severus would perform no matter of importance, but with advice of the most ancient and best experimented. He never went out of Rome unaccompanied with four or five of most honourable, ancient and grave personages, that none should need to fear that he would commit any error. He never suffered the Senate to conclude any weighty purpose, unless fifty of them had been present. He caused all his counsellors to put their opinions in writing, to see if any were possessed with passions or partialities. He changed oft his familiarity with sundry of the Senate, lest he who had always his ear might be overcome with importunate pursuits, or partiality.

"The urgent necessity of the time, most noble and excellent prince, causeth me to be so tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and heartily kissing your Majesty's hands, I pray the eternal God grant you long and happy life.

"From Halhill, this 15 of October 1583. Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servitor.

"James Melville."

When I came to Stirling, and showed his Majesty this letter, he not only liked well of it, but engaged to follow the advice therein contained. He lamented to me the partial dealing of those about him: only he said, that my brother Sir Robert was upon a sound course for quieting of the estate; and that some noblemen, against whose partialities he had opposed himself, had discorded with him in his Majesty's presence. It pleased his Majesty also to tell me, that the cause why I was written for, was to be sent to England, to travel with the Queen there, for entertainment of

mutual amity, and increase of her favour and good-will concerning the title and succession to the Crown of England, and assistance to help to establish his troubled estate, perturbed by the insolence and partialities of his subjects, bred and engendered among them during his minority.

I answered, that I judged it was a very unmeet time, seeing I knew, as matters stood in Scotland, that England would make no account of him, nor of any that would be sent from him, until first he would let it be seen and heard, that he could settle his own estate, and, by his wise and prudent management, render his own subjects obedient to his commands; this being done, they would honour and esteem him. And that the best and readiest way to obtain also one day the Crown of England was, to guide Scotland so well, that they might find ground some day to wish to be under the government of such a prince. By this kind language, and his Majesty pondering what ground I had to use the same, he was satisfied that my voyage should be stayed till a more convenient time. So I returned from Court to my own house.

It is mentioned here above in the Queen of England's letter, how that she was minded to send a trusty servant unto his Majesty, willing him to stay from any strict proceeding against the Lords, who were pricked at for the Road of Ruthven, until the arriving of the said Ambassador, who was the Secretary Walsingham, a counsellor of worthy qualities, who had great credit with the Queen of England. But he was of a sickly complexion, and was not able to endure riding post, therefore he was long by the way, being carried in a chariot. So that during his longsome voyage the Earl of Arran went ay forward, forgetting the tenor of the Queen of England's letter.

So soon as his Majesty was advertised of the arrival

of Sir Francis Walsingham, I was sent for to come to Court, and directed to ride and welcome him in his Majesty's name, to bear him company, and convoy him about by Stirling to St Johnston, where his Majesty thought fit to give him audience. Desiring me also to say unto him, that his Majesty was very glad of the coming of such a notable personage, who was known to be endued with Religion and wisdom, whom he had ever esteemed as his special friend, being assured that his tedious travel in his long voyage (being diseased as he was) tended to more substantial points for the confirmation of the amity between the Queen his sister and him, than had been performed at any time before.

The Secretary Walsingham answered me again, that the great desire he had to establish an assured amity betwixt the two princes and countries, moved him to undertake the Ambassage himself, his Majesty being the prince in the world that he loved next unto the Queen his mistress, and wished most to see and be acquainted with. And that he hoped his commission should succeed the better, that he had met first with me his old friend, and only acquaintance in Scotland. For we had been companions abroad upon our travels, and divers times when I was sent to or passed through England, he would have me to lodge and lie with himself at London, which occasioned that we had more familiar conferences. Whereupon I did write two several letters, that his Majesty might be the better provided to make answer to such heads as I knew he would propose. Then we took our journey through Linlithgow to Stirling, and from that to Perth. He had heard that my Lords Seaton and Livingston were written unto to convoy him; but he requested me to stay them, that he might have the more conference by the way with me, otherwise he would be compelled to entertain the noblemen. I judged it

probable that his design in this was, to let me see his own train; for he was seven-score horse in company. Being near the Court, his Majesty sent out two of the council to meet him, to wit, my Lord of Down,[1] and my brother Sir Robert.

The next day his Majesty gave him audience, accompanied with Mr Bowes Ambassador resident in Scotland. Their first reasoning was upon his Majesty's liberty, and wherefore he had left the company who were about him, being the best and most religious sort of the nobility, and of her Majesty's best acquaintance, and by whom she would deal in her affairs more friendly than she could do with others, whom she could not so well credit. Whereunto his Majesty made answer so gravely and directly, that Walsingham wondered. The next day his Majesty appointed four of the council, and myself to be with them, to reason with him, and to sound what he would be at. But he refused to deal with any but his Majesty, who heard him again without Mr Bowes. Where he discoursed long with his Majesty; and when he came forth from his Majesty, he took me by the hand, and said, that he was the best content man that could be, for he had spoken with a notable young prince, ignorant of nothing, and of so great expectation, that he thought his travel well bestowed. The Earl of Arran desired to enter into familiar conference with him, but he refused to speak with him; making no longer stay, but took leave of his Majesty, who commanded me to accompany him to the ferry.

At our parting, he promised at all occasions to write to me, and much lamented that the Earl of Arran was again in Court, and in such credit with his Majesty. Which he said if he had understood before he took his journey, he would have shifted the same, and suffered some other to have been sent. For he could

[1] Doune.

see no sure course could be taken between their Majesties, so long as such instruments had such credit about him. For he esteemed the said Earl a scorner of Religion, a sower of discord, and a despiser of true and honest men; and therefore he refused to speak with him, or enter into acquaintance: for he was of a contrary nature, religious, true, and a lover of all honest men. Therefore Arran to be revenged upon him, spared not to do a great dishonour to his Majesty. First for despite, that he refused to speak with him, he caused refuse to permit the Captains of Berwick, and divers other honest gentlemen, who came to convoy the Secretary Walsingham, the entry of his Majesty's chamber door. And then he caused to prepare a scornful present for him at his departure, to wit, a ring with a stone of crystal, instead of a rich diamond which his Majesty had appointed for him, valued at 700 crowns, which he was oft-times minded to send back again unto his Majesty, rather to let him see how he was abused, than how he was used. Some promise was also made unto him, about the repairing some wrongs done by Scotsmen upon the borders, which he alleged was not kept. For Arran did what he could to displease him, and to render his commission in all points ineffectual, and his travel in vain. Nevertheless he made so good report of his Majesty's virtues and qualities, that it put him in some suspicion at his return to the Court of England, where shortly after he took sickness and died.

My opinion is, that if God had granted him longer life, he would have been found a great friend to his Majesty, who marvelled that the chief Secretary of England, burdened with so many great affairs, sickly and aged, should have enterprised so painful a voyage without any purpose. For it could not be yet perceived, what was his errand, save only that he gave his Majesty good counsel. But he, being religious and

of a good conscience, was desirous to see and understand assuredly such qualifications to be in his Majesty, whereof he had frequently been informed. He returned with great contentment in his mind for that part; but very sorrowful for the company that he found in greatest favour and credit about his Majesty. Which was the more unexpected, by reason of a letter that his Majesty had sent unto the Queen his mistress, promising not to bring in again to Court the Earl of Arran, without her advice and consent. For my part I never saw such appearance of a prosperous estate for his Majesty's honour, surety, love, and obedience of his own subjects, increase of the number of his friends in England to the advancement of his title, neither before that time nor since; if the said Arran had not been brought again to Court, which I left not undeclared to his Majesty divers times, not without some danger.

Indeed his Majesty's intention was not that he should stay at Court, but only to come and kiss his hand. But he again being once entered, won some of the Lords, whose particulars he promised to set forward, if they would concur with him, and show his Majesty that his presence about his person was necessary, and that my gentle proceedings would ruin the King's interest, and them all. Managing thus the matter, he remained at Court, and minded to make himself and his assisters rich by the wreck and spoil of others, who had taken his Majesty at the Road of Ruthven, and then he and they were to guide all at their pleasure. So many of them, who shot at particular marks, ran a strait course with him, because they thought by his credit to make up themselves. They feared to lose his Majesty's favour, in case Arran was not their friend. And some of them did what they could, to persuade me to do the like, alleging that otherwise I should be shut out. Which came to

pass shortly after, because I would not yield nor concur to cast all loose, to the peril of his Majesty's estate and reputation, remembering what was intended, promised, and proclaimed at his Majesty's obtaining his liberty.

It is certain that the Lords who made that enterprise had great occasion given them to be discontent, but no sufficient cause to oblige them to compel their sovereign prince to remove from him those he so well liked. Which rebellious proceeding compelled them also for their surety to retain and hold the King as captive. His Majesty again being advertised and admonished, that the dangerous proceedings of the Duke of Lenox and Earl of Arran were like to breed disorder, took too little care to prevent the apparent inconveniences, and used too little diligence to get sure intelligence and information thereof; which brought him to that strait of being taken, and kept. For it had been less pains to have taken good notice in due time, how his country was governed, than to put order or remedy thereto afterward. For it is no little error, to render the most part of the nobility and subjects malcontent; nor no great wisdom after his Majesty was in their hands, to slip from them without their consents; the enterprisers, assisters and allowers of the deed being so considerable a number as could not be overcome but by patience, not punished but by subversion of the state, and endangering of the prince his own person. Yet it pleased God to guide his Majesty to his liberty (albeit not without some peril) with honour at the first, and with the universal contentment of all his subjects, so soon as they understood his honest meaning and gracious deliberation, as well by promise as by proclamation, as is already specified.

For my part, I forget not at all occasions to remember his Majesty. I refused the office of Secretary

when offered by his Majesty in reward of my service; because it was promised that no man should want his offices, benefits, lands or escheats. I opposed myself in full council against the Earl of Arran, because he had formed a proclamation against the Lords of the Road of Ruthven, contrary to his Majesty's former proclamation of grace and oblivion: for which he leapt out of the house in a great rage at me, and for despite he made a list of the names of so many as should be upon the Privy Council, and left out my name. Likewise he named so many of his dependers as should serve in every office, which his Majesty was resolved not to acquiesce to, without my advice. Yet he prevailed with his Majesty to subscribe the same, assisted by the foresaid Lords, who took plain part with him. So I was shut out of door, and had no more place to do good. His Majesty graciously excused the matter, and said, that the Lords had no will of two brothers being upon the council; but when he should get a wife, I should be her counsellor, and chief about her. So that if they were glad to be quit of me, I was as glad to be free of them, and not to be partakers with them in advices tending directly to endanger the prince and the country.

Yet his Majesty assured me, that he would go to Edinburgh, according to the advice I had given in my forementioned letter, and convene the nobility, Barons, and others whom I had named, in order to the settling of the country. And in the meantime he told me, that the Earl of Arran thought fit to send to England the Bishop of St Andrews, alleging, that he was passing to the Spaw for recovery of his health: who passing through England, might have commission to deal with that Queen in his Majesty's affairs. And in case he found her willing to discourse friendly and freely, he should then show her that his Majesty would send me thither, to satisfy her more sufficiently in

such things as she would require. And to that effect the said Bishop should send back word by a gentleman, Captain Robert Melville, who went thither expressly to be sent back with the said answer.

I was commanded to write in the Bishop's favour; but he was too well-known in England. For Mr Bowes, who remained long in this country, had informed them sufficiently of the said Bishop's qualities, who was disdained in England, and dishonoured his country by borrowing of gold and precious furniture from the Bishop of London, and divers others, which was never restored, nor paid for. His Majesty nevertheless would have me to grant to go to England, and to be in readiness. He desired me to make my own instructions, alleging, that I knew what was meetest for him to require at that time.

I would not take upon me to make my own instructions, but I promised to pen the speech that I would think most proper to recite to her Majesty, in case I went thither, and which I would judge to be the fittest language that any sent thither could speak for the time. After his Majesty had perused the same, he much relished it, and declared it was fully conform to his own intentions. It was in these words:—

" Madam,

" Albeit that your Majesty be as sufficiently certified of the King my sovereign's conformable mind to satisfy your Majesty, as well by Sir Francis Walsingham your Secretary, as by the Bishop of St Andrews his Ambassador, granting the one his whole desires by mouth, and declaring by the other how strictly he hath observed and performed the same; in effect more to satisfy your motherly mind, by showing the tokens of a thankful and obedient son, than for any great advantage he perceives you thereby seek for yourself. So that it is his Majesty's intention, chiefly seeing he

hath taken the rudder into his own hand, to discover to you ay the longer the more the perfect fruits of his hearty affection.

"For now having attained unto some years of knowledge and dear bought experience (by that which hath been oft beat in his ears) he is not ignorant how that your Majesty's favour and assistance will be more contributive for his advantage and advancement, than can be any, or that he can obtain from all the other princes in Europe. Your Majesty being to him so dear a mother, and so near a neighbour, both your subjects appearing to be but one people; especially since your prudent government began, the effects whereof hath not only been found by your own, but by your neighbours; the same having extended itself to the advantage of other kingdoms, especially overshadowing this whole island, to your Majesty's everlasting honour. For never in any prince's days hath been seen so much rest, so great riches and felicity in England; which likewise might have been in Scotland, if the particularities of some of the subjects had suffered them to have followed your sage, charitable and loving admonitions. As the consideration thereof is the reason which induced his Majesty, whom the matter most toucheth, to direct me to your Majesty, after ripe deliberation, and upon the sure ground of the good information of such as were best inclined, and have greatest experience, to seek the assistance which he hath so oft seen sent unto him, help and wholesome advice where he hath so oft found it, and salutary plaisters to be laid unto the sores that yet daily breed and rise in his realm, as remains of the canker and disorder engendered during his minority.

"Seeing then the thing that he craves, is your accustomed kindness and counsel, which because the strength of your constancy will compel you to continue towards him, he is the more humbly to suit the

same, as most seemly for his nearness of kin, age and estate to do: persuading himself that such friendly offices might be used between you, as may tend to both your contentments, and weal of your kingdoms; which for lack of sure intelligence of others minds by secret and mutual conference of devotious and discreet instruments, might otherwise turn to the contrary.

"The King my master knows that a mighty man cannot stand upon one side; he grants that he hath now greater need of your help than you of his in many things. But he thinks himself as able, and is as willing to deserve favour at your hand, as any who can contend with him for the same, or would presume to sound the bell of succession in your ears. For his part, he requires no instant declaration thereof, but will continually crave by his behaviour all such preferment, as an humble son ought to seek at the hands of a loving and hearty mother. Because he believes that a word of your Majesty's mouth, at a convenient time, will sufficiently serve his turn, being yet young enough to await upon any benefit you shall be pleased to bestow upon him. Acknowledging the prorogation of your years most profitable to supply his youth; and considering the necessity he hath now of your assistance, in the ruling of this his troubled estate, he believes that he would have double need of your help, if overearly he had any greater handling.

"Therefore, Madam, he desires as yet to recreate himself with hunting and pastime, until he be of greater ripeness and maturity. Wishing in the meantime unto your Majesty a long life, a prosperous reign, and as good success in your proceedings hereafter, as you have had hitherto; that having so happily and so honourably in a manner ruled both the realms these many years bygone, you may be as able to leave them so joined together in a cordial and stable monarchy. And that the blessed and perfect end of your prudent

project may confirm and crown the worthiness of your reputation, in finishing the work which so many had so oft in vain enterprised, as the only prince that ever obtained the whole handling and hearts of all Britain without blood. The first thereof begun and appropriate in your person, so pleasantly and peaceably ruled in your time; and so justly and righteously distribute and left after you, not only to the worthiest, as did Alexander, but also to the nearest of your friends and kinsfolk, as did Cæsar to avoid blood-shedding; then as before, like a kindly mother to the King, the country, and commonwealth, to the great pleasure of God, the perpetual praise of your memory, and to the universal weal and pleasure of this whole island."

If the Queen of England could have credited his Majesty, she might have an assured friendship and concurrence of him for the time. Certainly his Majesty was ever minded to keep this kind of friendly and discreet correspondence with her. For he was informed how little speed the Queen his mother had, for suiting continually to be declared second person of England, as may be seen in that which I have written before, touching her proceedings with the Queen of England, who I knew would never grant to declare a second person, but with force and compulsion, which was never in the power of Scotland to do, during the rich and peaceable reign of that Queen. Yet fair and discreet language and behaviour gave place and access to his Majesty's Ambassadors, to pass to and fro, to gain friends, and get intelligence.

Now the Earl of Arran perceiving that by no persuasion he could get his Majesty stayed from executing the resolution he had laid down of going for Edinburgh, and calling a Convention of such noblemen, Barons, Burgesses and Ministers as were meetest to settle the troubled estate of the country, by taking

up again and following forth his former gracious intention and promise, both by proclamation and speeches unto divers noblemen, Barons and Ministers. The said Earl perceiving that he could not directly stay that good purpose, so contrary to his intentions, he first made his interest to be made Chancellor, and then Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, that by his great offices, besides his credit with his Majesty, he might terrify all such as durst oppose themselves to his courses or propositions. Then he used his craft to pervert and draw the effect of the Convention, clear contrary to his Majesty's intention. For he dealt and spoke with every Lord and Baron apart at their coming, showing them how graciously his Majesty was minded toward such as had taken him at the Road of Ruthven; that he was resolved to grant every one of them a particular remission, some of them to be a while absent out of the country, and others to remain at home in their own houses absent from Court: alleging, that whoever would say that this form of punishment was not great clemency, they would lose his Majesty's favour, and be reputed as men who have no respect to his honour and surety; it having been so odious a crime to have laid hands forcibly upon their native prince.

This matter being so set out, and declared by him who it was thought knew most of his Majesty's mind, and had most of his favour, evidenced by his having the greatest offices of the kingdom in his hand; it was voted by them all, 'to be great clemency used by his Majesty towards those who had committed so odious a crime.' His Majesty not conjecturing the trick hereby put upon him, in rendering his gracious intention ineffectual, was very glad to hear them all conclude in one opinion, not imagining they had been preoccupied by the Earl of Arran, part for fear, part for ignorance, others for flattery, to obtain favour of him who they

saw guided both King and country. Few or none of them, for the time, considered the apparent danger of rendering those plainly desperate, who were ordained to take remissions for that which before was allowed for good service, in respect of their great number, who could not yet be punished nor quashed without hazarding his Majesty's own princely estate and credit; which all discreet and wise princes are loth to bring into question. This allowance of good service hath been oft practised in France, during the time of their civil wars, when their late princes were but yet young, and where the malcontents and pretenders to reform the estate were so many and mighty, as to make a party answerable to that of their King.

Because I was not yet come to the first day of the said convention, his Majesty told me that same night at my coming, what had been voted at their first meeting, which he thought would be to my great contentment, desiring me the next day to be present. I answered, I was sorry from my heart for what had been concluded, seeing it was in effect clean contrary to his intention. For whereas he thought to have settled his estate, it was cast loose, the die was now cast, and the dissension so increased to the kindling of new enterprises, that chance would bear away the mastery and victory. For those who were compelled to take remission, would take it as their dittay, and that finding their former securities altered, there was not any more place left for any sort of agreement.

This language of mine, being contrary to the opinion of so many, did not a little displease his Majesty. He asked me, If I thought not the Road of Ruthven treason? I answered, that I thought it so indeed; yet since not only his Majesty himself and his Council had not only wisely and circumspectly allowed it for good service, but had written the same to the Queen of England, and had sent his commissioners to the

general assembly holden for the time at Edinburgh, willing the ministers, at their return to their parishes, to cause the principal gentlemen of each shire to subscribe a signature, or the copy wherein the Road of Ruthven was allowed for good service, and to be ready to defend the same. I declared also unto his Majesty, that there was a common clause contained in all remissions; to wit, 'Except the laying hands upon the King's person'; so that how little secured they were by their present remissions, his Majesty might easily judge. He answered, that seldom or never was any remissions seen broken, and wondered what made me think or speak contrary to the rest of the council. I said, if I had always spoken as the rest, I had not been put off the council by the Earl of Arran, whose qualities I had before described unto his Majesty, and what insuperable inconveniences would attend his being again brought into Court. I requested his Majesty for his own weal, to send him home to his own house: for by his underhand dealing, I understood that his convention would shortly bring on new desperate enterprises. His Majesty said, that I was in the wrong to the Earl of Arran, and that there would never be more desperate enterprises. I affirmed that there would be continually, ay and while the Lords who were in despair might mend themselves, or find themselves in a better security. I said moreover to his Majesty, that the Earl of Arran would yet again put his person and crown in hazard; so that his Majesty left me in anger. And yet he turned about again, and asked who shall then remain about me, if I put away the Earl of Arran? I answered, Who but your ancient nobility, the Earls of March, Argile, Eglington, Montrose, Marischal, Rothes, Huntly, and Crawford, with some ministers and Barons, known not to be factious.

But so many of the noblemen, and of their friends

as were yet remaining within the country, after they had heard of their remissions, they combined together and gained divers Lords who were about his Majesty, to make a new enterprise, and were minded to slay the Earl of Arran, Colonel Stuart, and some others that were about his Majesty, whom they knew to have been most instrumental in carrying on this design, though it should be in his Majesty's presence, and that way to become masters again of the Court. Whereof I not only was advertised by some, to whom I had formerly done kindness, but I was advised to absent myself from Court four or five days, till the first fury of the alteration was over: for the Earl of Arran's hatred to me procured me many friends. I again, to save his Majesty from peril and dishonour, thought it my duty to advertise him, entreating him to send home the said Earl.

I cannot tell what moved the Earl, but that same night he invited me to supper, which I refused. The next day again he took me by the hand before his Majesty, saying, that I should dine with him in his Majesty's presence. He showed me a very favourable countenance; for the King had forbidden him to offend me in any sort, as he would retain his favour. If he had got any word of my contrary opinion to his, I cannot tell, or that I had desired him to be sent home; but there was some appearance of this by his behaviour and passionate speeches unto me, soon after that I had told my judgment unto his Majesty, as men may judge. For leading me by the hand to dine with him in his Majesty's presence, which I could not evite, before we did sit down to dinner, he asked me how all would be? I told him very freely all I had spoken unto his Majesty. Then, said he, you would place about his Majesty the Earl of March, who is a fool, guided by the Laird of Compte and Robert Shives. I said, He behoved to be one with the rest of the noble-

men already named. He said, It should pass my power or any man's, to cause him leave his Majesty so long as he was in such danger. I answered, That the King was in danger for no other cause, but because he was with him.

I perceived he entertained a great discontent at me in his heart, which burst out afterward, threatening to put me out of the gates, if I fished any more in his waters. I answered, if I pleased to tarry, it would pass his power, seeing I would get more honest men to take my part than he would get throat-cutters to assist him. So soon as his Majesty heard of this language, he sent the Earl's uncle the Laird of Caprinton, to reprove him very sharply. Whereupon he retired in great discontent to the Castle of Edinburgh, whereof he was Captain, declaring he would not come near his Majesty till I was sent home, to give him place, which I perceived his Majesty was satisfied I should do to please him. For his wife came daily to his Majesty, and said, that her husband was highly discontent, finding his Majesty to take my part against him. Whereupon I resolved to retire. At my leave-taking his Majesty said, he doubted not but I would return when called for. By which I understood, that I should not come back till sent for. Which suited very well with my former intentions, being resolved to attend no longer than the foresaid convention was ended.

Now the Earl of Arran triumphed, being Chancellor, and Captain of the Castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. He made the whole subjects to tremble under him, and every man to depend upon him, daily inventing and seeking out new faults against divers, to get the gift of their escheats, lands, benefices, and to procure bribes. He vexed the whole writers to make sure his gifts. Those of the nobility who were now unsure of their estates, fled; others were banished. He shot

directly at the life and lands of the Earl of Gowrie: for the Highland oracles had shown unto his wife, that Gowrie should be ruined, as she told to some of her familiars. But she helped that prophecy forward as well as she could: for Gowrie had been his first master, and despited his insolent pride, oppression and misbehaviour plainly in council, which few others durst do; therefore he hated his person, and loved his lands, which at length he obtained.

For Gowrie being unable to be a witness of the oppression of his country, obtained his Majesty' consent to go out of the country. But as he was making his preparations too longsomely and slowly in Dundee (as he was of nature over slow) where his ship was to receive him, he was advertised by some factioners, that the Earls of Angus, Mar, and Master of Glammis, had an enterprise in hand, viz.: to come out of Ireland, and take the town and Castle of Stirling; having correspondence with divers nobles and others their friends, who were in the country, malcontents, so that they were in hope to make a party sufficient against the Earl of Arran.

The despite the Earl of Gowrie had against the Earl of Arran moved him to stay to make part with them. There was at this time an universal miscontent in the country, and great bruits of an alteration. Whereupon a letter was written to me by Colonel Stuart, at his Majesty's command, ordaining me with all diligence to repair to Court; or, in case I was not recovered of my ague, whereof I had been long sick, that I might write my mind and opinion to his Majesty in a letter, what was like to fall out concerning the great rumour and bruits of an apparent alteration. And, being by reason of my foresaid distemper unable for travel, I sent my return in writing, showing his Majesty that there was an universal miscontent, with great bruits, not without appearance of probability

of a sudden change, occasioned by the misbehaviour of such as were managers at Court, and by the great straits and desperate estate of those who were pursued, being men of quality, active and experienced; and a greater number than could be borne down or mastered, as I had frequently showed his Majesty before, without respect of feud or favour, but simply for his Majesty's service: entreating his Majesty again to set forward his former acceptable intentions, which he had resolved to do when he went to St Andrews; seeing there was no other course advisable for settling his troubled estate. This kind of language was the better liked, because of so many advertisements that came daily to his Majesty's ears.

These bruits made his Majesty be upon his guard, and to use means to get intelligence. The lingering of the Earl of Gowrie in Dundee gave ground of suspicion. His Majesty had also been advertised, that he had laid aside his intentions of going abroad, according to his former resolutions, and that he was designed to wait upon the in-coming of the banished Lords. His Majesty also dreamed a dream, that he saw the Earl of Gowrie taken, and brought in prisoner before him by Colonel Stuart; and he thought his estate was thereby settled: which indeed for that time came true, because the Lords who had taken Stirling, so soon as they understood of the taking of the Earl of Gowrie, fled incontinently out of Stirling, and at last out of the country, believing that the said Earl had been taken willingly; supposing his affection to have been so great to his Majesty, as being his near kinsman, come of the house of Angus, his mother being a natural daughter of the said house, that he would be thereby induced to discover the whole design; he not having been upon the first design of any enterprise, but drawn in afterwards by the craftiness of others.

Upon these considerations, his Majesty had com-

passion upon him, and had no intention of taking his life. But the Earl of Arran was fully resolved to have his lands; and therefore, to make a party to assist him in that design, he engaged to divide them with several others, upon condition that they would assist him in the design of ruining him. Which afterwards he did, having by this means procured their consent and votes. At his death upon the scaffold, he showed himself a devout Christian, and a resolute Roman, much regretted by all who heard his grave harangue, and did see his constant end.

After his death, there was quietness for a while, though without appearance of long continuance to such as took up matters right. During this little while of fair weather, there was a Parliament held to forfault the banished Lords, wherein these were chiefly instrumental, who hoped to raise their particular fortunes upon the ruin of their neighbours.

Among others, it pleased his Majesty to write for me. I was by him graciously received; and, remembering some of my speeches, he took me into his cabinet, and inquired how I now relished his proceedings. I answered, that he had reason to thank God, and no good management; and that I was assured there would be yet more enterprises; that they who took Stirling, and had retired again, would never cease to make enterprise upon enterprise, till they might see themselves in a better security. His Majesty replied, that they had gained so little by their last incoming, that he believed they would never commit such a folly again. I answered, that had not the accidental taking of the Earl of Gowrie fallen out, their enterprise would have been more successful; for they suspected he was taken by his own desire to bewray their enterprise: that otherwise they had gained their intent, seeing some, who were then about his Majesty, would have concurred with them to lay

aside the Earl of Arran, whom they assisted for awe, and not for love, they hating his insolency, and seeing no outgate how to stand by him; and that there had for that effect been secret promises made to them, by instruments who went betwixt them: but seeing the Earl of Gowrie in hands, and the said Lords thereby so discouraged as to fly away, such as had made the said secret promises took up a new deliberation, showing themselves their greatest enemies; while in the meantime they but waited an opportunity of advancing their intentions.

About this time the Lord Burleigh, chief ruler in England, caused send in one Mr Davison to be an agent here, to see what business he could brew, who was afterwards made Secretary. For after the decease of Walsingham, Secretary Cecil being advanced to be Lord Burleigh, and Great Treasurer of England, two Secretaries were chosen, one called Mr Smith, and this Davison, whose predecessor was a Scotsman. Upon which consideration he was thought more able to conquer credit here. He had been in Scotland before, and was at my house, in company with Sir Henry Killegrew my old friend, when he was resident in Scotland. At which time he acknowledged to me, that he was come of Scotsmen, and was a Scotsman in his heart, and a favourer of the King's right and title to the Crown of England. He desired me to keep all secret from Mr Killegrew, promising, if he could find the means to be employed here, that he would do good offices.

His Majesty was for the time at Falkland, and wrote for me, to be directed to ride and meet the said Davison: whom I was commanded to convoy to Cowpar, there to remain till his Majesty had time to give him audience. Afterward I convoyed him to my own house, and from that to Falkland, where his Majesty found his commission to small avail. But

because Walsingham had refused, at his being here, to speak with the Earl of Arran, albeit the said Earl had offered by me to give satisfaction to him in all his desires, so that he would confer with him (which Walsingham still refused) but Mr Davison was directed at this time to deal with the Earl of Arran, to see what advantage might be had at his hand; for my Lord Burleigh was not content that Walsingham was so precise. Therefore Davison entered into familiarity with him, and was made his gossip, and heard his frank offers, and liked well of them: for after that the Lords were fled to England, and forfaulted, the Council of England thought they had some ground to build a new faction upon, to trouble the King and his estate. And whereas the said Davison had promised before to show himself a kind Scotsman, I perceived him clean altered, and a perfect practiser against the quiet of this state; whereof I advertised his Majesty.

After his return England appeared not to have such a fear, as it had formerly had at the Earl of Arran. For there was a meeting drawn on at the Borders, betwixt the Earl of Hunsdon and the Earl of Arran, who had long and privy conference together, to keep a great friendship betwixt the two princes and countries; with a secret plot, that the Earl of Arran should keep the King unmarried for three years, under this pretext, that there was a young maid of the blood in England, who about that time would be ready for marriage; whereupon the Queen would declare his Majesty second person.

This was a deceitful traffic, and kept secret from everybody, the design thereof being to hinder the King to deal for any other honourable and profitable match. The Earl of Arran thinking himself settled, being now in friendship with the Queen of England, as he supposed, moved his Majesty to send thither the Master of Gray, who was entered in great favour

and familiarity with his Majesty by some secret dealing and intelligence he had with the Queen his mother in England, by means of some of her friends in France. For being there at his travels, and but lately returned, he brought some letters directed from her Majesty to the King her son, and conveyed the answers back again, by an interest he had in England with some who favoured her Majesty.

He was a great dealer also between her Majesty and some Catholics in England. He was a proper gentleman, of a noble spirit, and fair speech, and so well esteemed by his Majesty, that Arran thought fit to absent him from Court by this Ambassage. Nevertheless he employed him also in the course begun betwixt him and the Earl of Hunsdon. And yet when he was at the Court of England, so well esteemed and treated, as was reported by such as were sent back, it was alleged by some of the Master of Gray's friends, that the Earl of Arran began to envy him, and misrepresent him unto his Majesty, as if he had discovered unto the Queen of England a great part of the Queen of Scotland's purposes and proceedings. However the said Master returned again well rewarded, and commended for his behaviour, qualities and discretion, unto the King's Majesty, to the great increase of his credit with the King. Not long after his return, he was informed what misreports had been made of him in his absence: which he recompensed the best he could with court charity at convenient times, so that by little and little he began to eclipse Arran.

The Master of Gray also forewarned his Majesty of a notable person who was upon the way, sent unto his Majesty by the Queen of England, to do him honour, and to bear him company, to entertain a stricter friendship between that Queen and him, than any had ever been intended before: and that the said Ambassador, called Mr Wotton, would not trouble his

Majesty with business or country affairs, but would bear him company in his pastimes of hunting, hawking and horse-riding, and entertain him with friendly and merry discourses, as one come lately from Italy and Spain, expert in languages and customs of countries: and a great lover of his Majesty's title and right to the Crown of England. So that his Majesty was engaged to love him before he did see him, and caused with diligence to write to me to come and entertain the said Ambassador.

At my return to Court, I was the better taken with, that Arran was under some cloud. The Master of Gray was then my great friend: for his Majesty had told him, that I had ever resisted the Earl of Arran's furious proceedings. His Majesty desired me, as I would do him acceptable service, to bear good company to the said Ambassador, declaring unto me all his properties and qualifications above specified; willing me also to banquet him at my house. But after I had conversed certain days with him, I remembered I had formerly seen him in France with Dr Wotton, who was then Ambassador resident for Queen Mary of England, the time that she was married with King Philip of Spain. During which time, there were great suspicions and jealousies betwixt France and England. For though there was hot war between France and Spain, yet the peace continued still with the Queen of England, who was lately married by the King of Spain. She appeared still to keep the peace with France, though in the meantime she sent over to Flanders both men and money, to the help of the King her husband.

The old Constable of France, my master, who for the time had the whole management of the country affairs under King Henry II reproached the English Ambassador, for that the Queen his mistress was doing her endeavour to break the peace. The Ambassador excused his mistress, alleging, that if any of his country-

men served in the wars under the King of Spain, that they would be found but soldiers of fortune, ready to serve any man for money. She denied that she knew of their passing into Flanders, or that she debursed any money for the wars; albeit that there was ground enough ministered unto her, by receiving and retaining in France all her rebels and fugitives, giving them pensions and entertainment, and stirring them up to enterprises against her life and estate. This the Constable flatly denied; only he said, that out of a general goodwill which was born to Englishmen in time of peace, they were suffered to live in the country which bears the name of France, because there should be freedom and franchise to every Christian.

The Ambassador being wise and subtle, perceiving this answer to be but a shift, and that wars would inevitably follow these kind of suspicions; he intended by some subtlety to circumvent the Constable, and for that effect had sent to England for his brother's son, being one and twenty years of age, as well to employ him as to teach him the French and Italian languages. This youth being arrived in France with an Irish boy to be his interpreter, who could speak French, both apparelled in mean array, to be the less suspected to have any practice or policy in their minds; like a foreign young man he addressed himself to some of the King of France his Courtiers, desiring audience of his Majesty secretly, as having a matter of great importance to propose. The King again divers times directed him to deal first with the Constable. At last when he came to the Constable, he desired also of him, that he might first declare unto the King his errand, which was of great importance, although he knew that the King spoke with no man in such matters, until the Constable had first sounded him, and then told his opinion to the King, what answer were fittest to make. At length he said, He would declare the

matter unto the Constable, under promise of great secrecy, causing the Constable by this niceness to suspect some practice. When he gave him audience, he caused me to be present beside him.

At their meeting in the Constable's cabinet, his Irish interpreter was put forth, against his will, as appeared. But he was so instructed by the Ambassador his uncle, to use such foreign and rude fashions. Yet again ere he began to propose his errand, he desired secrecy. The Constable being an old, wise, experimented Counsellor, put him a little aside, and rounded in my ear, to know if ever I had seen this young man before. I answered, that I had observed him the preceding day at long conference with one Mr Sommer, Secretary to the English Ambassador. Then the Constable thought, that he should handle the matter well enough; for he instantly conjectured that all this niceness proceeded from the Ambassador, to entrap him. So calling the young man again, he desired him to show what he had to say.

Mr Wotton began to declare the great miscontentment that was in England, not only for bringing in the proud Spaniard to rule over them, but also for the alteration of Religion made by Queen Mary, moving some to rebel, and others to remove off the country, who nevertheless were all well received and treated by the King's Majesty of France, whereby he had gained the hearts of the third part of England so devoutly towards him, that they would gladly put the Crown of England on his head (getting liberty in Religion) to be quit of the Spanish tyranny and terrible inquisition, which was feared would also be established in England. And for the first proof of their goodwill and gratitude, a number of Lords and Knights, who durst not write, had sent him secretly with an overture to put the strong town of Calais into his hands, with the whole earldom of Oye.[1] At this the Constable

[1] Oise.

made a start, and said, Know you not, my friend, that there is a sworn peace betwixt your Queen and my master? The other replied again, how that the Queen of England aided secretly, with money and men, the King of Spain her husband, in his wars of Flanders against France: which the Constable alleged, that she denied by her Ambassador, willing him, however, to tell out the rest of his commission.

Then, said he, My Lord, the means how you may get Calais, is this, First, the most part of the town is of the Reformed Religion, and are malcontents, having refused to receive a garrison of Spaniards. And they are friends to those who have sent me, and keep correspondence with them; only the township keeps the town, keeping watch and ward, being unskilful in handling their arms. Therefore the King shall cause Monsieur Senarpon, his lieutenant in Normandy, to lie in ambuscade at such a wood, within a mile and a half of the town, at an appointed day; then a ship well furnished with armed men shall lie at anchor half a mile from the town; and some of them, clothed like mariners, shall come on land, and have swords and pistols under their clothes, and shall wait about two of the afternoon, at which time the ports of the town are opened to let men in and out. Part of those who attend the ports, will be at their dinner, when one or two will come before the rest to open the gates. Thus the gates being easily seized upon, let one of the company shoot off a culverin, that the ship may hear, and shoot a cannon to cause Monsieur Senarpon with his company advance. In the meantime, there shall be a mutiny raised in the town by our friends and partners, so that the town shall be obtained without stroke.

After that the Constable had heard all this long discourse, he said, that it was a very probable design, and he doubted not but it might be easily effectuated;

but in respect of the sworn peace, the King his master would not, nor should never have his consent to break it: but that he was much engaged to the noblemen who did bear him so much goodwill; and as for him who had taken so great pains, the King should reward him, willing me to remember to cause give money to the young gentleman. So he gained nothing at the Constable's hand, and never came again to seek his reward; but was afterwards manifestly known to be brother's son to Dr Wotton Ambassador, as said is.

This is he now who was sent hither to bear his Majesty company, as one who will not meddle with practices, but with pastimes. But when I forewarned his Majesty to beware of him, and told how that he, being little above twenty years old, was employed to beguile the wise old Constable; now he was fifty years, and his Majesty but twenty, it was to be feared he would endeavour to beguile him: yet his Majesty would not believe me, but believed the said Mr Wotton to have a great kindness for him, and he so became one of his most familiar minions, waiting upon him at all field pastimes; and in appearance he despised all busy counsellors, and meddlers in matters of state, as he was instructed by such as said, he would please his Majesty best to appear such. But he had more hurtful fetches in his head against his Majesty, than any Englishman that ever came in hither had at any time before.

You have heard before of a meeting that was drawn on at the Borders, betwixt the Earl of Hunsdon and Arran; where at their secret conference, Arran was required, by the craft of the Lord Burleigh and his faction in the English council, to stop the King from any marriage for three years, upon many fair counterfeited promises; one whereof was, that he should be declared second person, upon his marriage of the fore-named English lady of the blood. At which

Arran granted all that was desired, he was so glad to procure the Queen of England's friendship.

About that time the Queen of England, by her intelligence from Denmark, was advertised of a great and magnific Ambassage to be sent from Denmark to Scotland, viz., three Ambassadors, with sixscore persons, in two gallant ships. Whether she suspected, or had heard, that it was to draw on a marriage, I cannot tell: but this far I learned, that her council judged it was to confirm at least a greater friendship betwixt the two Kings and their countries, which was one of the causes that moved them to send this Mr Wotton to Scotland, to use all his wiles to disturb and hinder any greater amity, that might proceed from the said commission and negotiation between their two Kings and their countries. For England trusted nothing to the Earl of Arran's promise; for they esteemed him as an inconstant man, as is already declared.

So soon as the Danish Ambassadors arrived by ship in this country, his Majesty ordered me to entertain them and bear them company. And because they were three joined in commission, he willed me to choose any other two whom I thought meetest, to bear them company with me. I named unto his Majesty the Laird of Segie, and William Shaw Master of Work.

First, at Dunfermling they congratulated his Majesty in the King their master's name, with a long discourse of the old amity, bond, and mutual friendship between the two Kings and their kingdoms. And last of all, they required the Isles of Orkney to be restored again to the Crown of Denmark, alleging they were mortgaged, to be redeemed again for the sum of 50,000 florins.

Their coming and demand was diversely scanned; some supposing wars would ensue, unless the said Isles were rendered; others thought that their intention

was to bring on a marriage with the King of Denmark's daughter.

Now, albeit his Majesty was determined to treat them well and honourably, they were nevertheless mishandled, ruffled, and delayed here the space of some months, to their great charge and discontent: for they lived upon their own expenses, and were not defrayed by his Majesty, as all other Ambassadors of that nation have been since. When they were appointed to part out of Dunfermling towards St Andrew's, there to get their dispatch, his Majesty ordered to tell them, that he would send them horses out of his own stable to ride upon. The day of their parting being come, they sent away their baggage and officers before them, and were booted themselves, waiting upon his Majesty's horses; and because they came not in due time, they went forward on foot. The King was much dissatisfied when he understood how they were handled, and caused his horses to follow fast after them, and overtake them.

When they came to St Andrew's, divers appointed days of council and convention were broken unto them, which were promised to be kept for their dispatch, for obtaining whereof they were very earnest. Then men were appointed to deride them at their lodgings, and before their windows when they looked out to the street. So that nothing was left undone, which could enrage them or stir them up to choler. Only Mr Wotton the English Ambassador visited them frequently, and did well and favourably entertain them, comforting them at all occasions, appearing to be sorry that they were so abused. He offered to lend them gold and silver largely, for the great friendship that he knew to be between the Queen his mistress and the King of Denmark. For he was assured of good payment, and thought to purchase credit at their hands by his apparent friendly dealing. At length,

under great secrecy he said he would not conceal from them, that he had heard the King speak disdainful language of their country and customs; and also, that some of his gentlemen had heard the King speak evil of their King, undervaluing him as being descended of a race of merchants. And he further assured them, that he and his council were resolved to keep them long here, without any dispatch, to affront and weary them.

Then again the said Ambassador and two of his gentlemen informed his Majesty of these hard speeches, of the reproachful dealing they had met with from King and council, reflecting upon their master. He informed him also of the rude manners and drunkenness of those that were about his Majesty, who had the like scornful language of the King of Denmark, his country and Ambassadors, moving his Majesty to make the less of them. Whereby they were stirred up to such a rage, that I had much to do to keep them two or three several times from going to their ships, to have returned to their King without any answer, and to have given him an account of the disdainful usage they had met with, and the injury thereby done to him. The Earl of Arran was also their great enemy, because they made no court to him, but rather slighted him, some of their company having known him in Sweden a common soldier. So that he was as ready as the rest to mock and deride them; albeit at that same time the ringleaders about the Court were combined together with the English Ambassador against him.

The principal of the three Ambassadors was a wise, grave and ancient Counsellor. The second was furious in his speeches. The third cried out, 'The King our master is affronted, we must be revenged.'

I took the first apart, requesting him to hear me patiently; for he spoke good Dutch, but mine was not so good. Therefore I desired that he would more

notice my meaning than my words, and be more careful to cause his friendly commission to take effect, that he might return home with happy success, than to withdraw abruptly, to be called unhappy instruments of discord, at the pleasure of a few scornful factioners, who had laid their heads together to cause them part dissatisfied, and to be as instrumental in doing evil as they were minded at their coming to do good.

I told him, how that the Queen's Majesty of England was a wise, well-inclined and politic princess, and that there were as many honest and good men in England, as in so much bounds in the whole world; albeit there was in it divers opinions and factions, shooting at sundry marks, as is done in all other parts. And because that their Queen would never marry, to have succession of her own body, they were all very desirous to know who after her should reign over them.

The most part of the country expects that it shall be our King, and wisheth his welfare and prosperity, as being righteous heir to the crown of England, both by the father and mother's side. But those who at present have a chief management at the Court, shoot at other particular marks of their own, minding to set forward some of themselves or of their friends, to bruik the kingdom. And for that cause, they make all the opposition they can to our King, because of their unmerciful dealing to his mother, for the which they fear some day to be punished, when he comes to be King of England. For all these respects, they endeavour to keep him from marriage, and from all foreign friendship and alliance. This Ambassador of England is a very ill instrument, both himself, and his gentlemen; and, hunting daily with his Majesty, make the worst reports they can.

The Ambassador of Denmark answered to that, marvelling that Mr Wotton should make such report of them, he offering them so great friendship, and

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giving them daily intelligence how they were scorned and mocked, both by the King and his council, to his great regret, offering them to lend them money, and to do all other pleasures to them that lay in his power. I replied, he knew well enough that he would get good payment, and great thanks. For the King of Denmark was esteemed a worthy prince, and his Ambassadors worthy to be honoured; but the guiders of the Court of England desire not that our King should think or esteem so of them, wishing him to have but few friends and many enemies. Then I assured him, that the King's Majesty and all his subjects, except some that were corrupted by England, were determined to entertain and increase a continual friendship with the King and country of Denmark: praying their wisdoms courageously to resist, and not feebly and foolishly to give place to the sad crafty practices of their scornful enviers, by retiring abruptly, thereby suffering themselves to be made evil instruments, directly against their own intention and commission; and they should shortly see good success to follow thereupon, to their great contentment: promising unto them for my part, that I should go instantly unto his Majesty, and, with all hazard that might be, should discover unto him, how both he and they were deceitfully abused by the double dealing of the English Ambassador, and such courtiers as assisted him.

Upon this discourse and promise, they went to council all three together, as their custom was. And after long conference, they gave me answer, that their coming was for to do good offices. And albeit they had suffered sundry injuries, they would be sorry to be made instruments of discord, so far against their commission and intention; and therefore would yet stay upon hope of better handling, and upon my promise, albeit to that hour few or none had been kept to them.

After this, I showed unto his Majesty what great inconveniences might ensue upon the long delaying and ill handling of the Danish Ambassadors: and yet that I marvelled not that he made so little account of them, in respect of the great care and fine practices that were used to make him undervalue them, by the English Ambassador and his assistants, who had his Majesty's ear for the time. At the first his Majesty was impatient to hear this language spoken of persons he had so good liking of, and said, that he was informed that the King of Denmark was descended but of merchants, and that few made account of him or his country, but such as spoke the Dutch tongue. For this was put in his head to prevent any of my persuasions in their favour, lest they should get place or credit. I answered, that neither could the King of France or Queen of England speak Dutch, and yet they made great account of the King and country of Denmark. France having their Ambassador lying there, and paying yearly to the King of Denmark a great sum of gold, to the value of 20,000 crowns. His Majesty said, The more shame was his. I said, Rather to the King of France, who must buy his kindness. Neither could the Queen of England, said I, speak Dutch; yet she made much account of the King and country of Denmark, and durst not offend him, nor none of his ships, both by reason of the straight passage at Elsonure, and also because he had great ships to make himself amends, in case she did him or his any wrong.

I said moreover, that whereas it hath been reported to your Majesty, the race of their Kings not to be of noble and royal blood, I shall show your Majesty that it is but manifest invention to cause you to despise them. For this late King Frederick is descended of an old and royal stock, to wit, Christianus of Denmark, the first of that name, who had two sons, and one

daughter called Margaret, married into Scotland to James III. His eldest son John was King after him. His second son Frederick was King of Norway and Duke of Holstein. John had a son called Christianus II also King of Denmark, who married Charles V his sister, who did bear him two daughters; whereof the eldest was given in marriage to Frederick, Elector Palatine; the second to the Duke of Milan, and afterward, being a widow, married the Duke of Lorrain. Himself was taken and kept in prison by his subjects, for some rigorous execution upon his Barons, and his father's brother Frederick was made King. After this Frederick, the Earl of Altenbourgh was chosen by assistance of the town of Lubeck ; but Christianus III son to the said Frederick, put him out, and conquered the kingdom. Nevertheless this Christianus being a good prince, would not change their old privileges, but caused himself to be chosen, and likewise his son Frederick, in his time, to reign after him; who is now present King, and hath sent his honourable Ambassage to your Majesty, as to his good friend and kinsman, descended of the kingly race of Denmark. And whereas he requires again the Isles of Orkney; it is for the discharge of his oath, because every King of Denmark, at his election, is sworn to claim again the said isles, which he hath done for the fashion, and for no other effect but to draw on a greater familiarity and friendship. Or else he had not sent so honourable a company, but rather an herald of arms, if he had been earnestly bent either to get the said Isles, or to quarrel about them.

After that his Majesty had heard this discourse, far different to his former informations, he was exceeding glad, and said, he would not for his head but that I had shown the verity unto him. And that same afternoon he sent for the said Ambassadors, and acquainted them how near allied he was to the King of Denmark:

he excused their long delay, and promised instantly to see them dispatched himself, and that within three or four days: he called for wine, and did drink to them, and sent them home very well content and satisfied to their lodgings. He commanded a banquet to be prepared for them; which his Majesty's comptroller and officers were quietly forbidden to do, alleging the scantiness of provisions: which the Laird of Segie and I perceiving, we dealt with the Earl of March, who prepared a great banquet for them in his Majesty's name, to the great dissatisfaction of Mr Wotton and his partisans, who durst not appear. And though they would not suffer his Majesty to be present at the banquet, but to dine in his own chamber; yet his Majesty being informed by me how matters went, he rose from his own dinner, and went to the banquet-house, and drank to the King, Queen, and Ambassadors of Denmark, and so contented them. And he caused their dispatch to be in readiness, conform to his promise. But when I advertised his Majesty, that there was no present prepared for to reward them withal, he was wonderfully troubled, saying, they who had the management of his affairs were resolved to affront him.

Now at this time was the Earl at Court, not so much in favour as formerly. During the which time there chanced a strange misrule to fall out at a day of meeting upon the Borders, which was set between the two Wardens; where Sir Francis Russel upon the English side was killed. Whereupon the English Ambassador took occasion to lay the blame upon the Earl of Arran, alleging, that the Laird of Ferniherst, who was Warden upon the Scots side, had married the Earl of Arran's brother's daughter; and that the said Earl had caused the slaughter to be made, that the Borders might break loose. In this complaint the said Ambassador was well assisted by the Master of Gray and his companions; so that the Earl of Arran was commanded

to ward within the Castle of St Andrews, and was kept strictly there three or four days: so that being in fear of his life, he sent for Colonel Stuart, the Laird of Segie, and me, and lamented to us his hard handling, purging himself, as he might justly do, of that accident that fell out upon the Borders, requesting us to intercede for his liberty.

He declared unto us a secret to be shown unto his Majesty, in case his life was taken from him; which was, a promise made unto the Queen of England, that the King should not marry with any for the space of three years, whereof I have formerly made some mention. Nevertheless he forgot not to travel for himself, for he sent his brother Sir William to the Master of Gray at midnight, promising to get unto him the Abbey of Dunfermling, so that he would obtain his liberty at his Majesty's hand. Which was incontinently granted, and also the said benefice disposed unto the said Master. Whereupon the English Ambassador was in a great rage at the Master, but their discord was afterward agreed. Only Mr John Maitland Secretary and the Justice-clerk, and the Earl of Arran, were ordered to retire home to their houses. But before Arran's journey, his Majesty was informed to desire him, with all possible diligence, to lend him a great gold chain which he had got from Sir James Balfour, which weighed fifty-seven crowns, to be given unto the Danish Ambassadors which if he had refused to do he would have lost his Majesty, and in delivering it he lost the chain.

In the meantime, the Ambassadors understanding that their dispatch was in readiness, took their leave of his Majesty, who was also ready to part from St Andrews. I informed his Majesty not to deliver them the dispatch, because the chain was not yet come: for they were minded incontinently to make sail, having stayed so long, and that the winter season

was at hand; albeit that I had shown to one of their familiar servants, that certain rewards were to come within two days, praying them to stay so long. Which they would not grant to do, but went to their ships: whither I promised to bring their dispatch, which I requested his Majesty to cause deliver into my hand, to be kept till the chain should come; which was divided in three parts, for it was large.

When I came to their ships, they were going to supper. Which being done, I delivered to them their answer in writing, with the chains, and some excuses for their long stay, and small reward. So they parted well satisfied, assuring me that they would be good instruments of amity; albeit by the harsh usage they had first met with, they had once resolved otherwise. They were not commanded to speak of marriage, whereof there was some groundless bruit. The King their master had fair daughters, with any whereof it was supposed the claim of Orkney would go. They thanked me for the good offices they had received from me, seeing my staying them from parting discontent, had preserved the two countries from being engaged in war: which, they said, they would not fail to declare unto the King their master, with whom they would not fail to make me acquainted, not doubting but that the King my master would one day say, that I had done him good service. So I did take leave, having rewarded the gunners, trumpeters and musicians.

At my return to Court I acquainted his Majesty that the Danish Ambassadors had set sail for their own country very well contented. I gave him a particular account of all speeches that passed betwixt them and me at their parting. Whereupon his Majesty took occasion shortly after to send one to Denmark, offering that commission to me; which I shifted, perceiving those who had his Majesty's ear, and had most credit with him, to be altogether averse from his marriage that way,

holding still one course with England. I named Mr Peter Young Almoner, as very fit for that errand; who was sent to Denmark, to thank that King, and to see his daughters, that he might make report again of his liking of them, with a promise, that ere long his Majesty would send a more honourable Ambassage.

The Earl of Arran being sent home, as said is, the English Ambassador and his Scots friends (as the Master of Gray, Secretary Maitland, and the Justice-clerk) had chief credit and handling of his Majesty's affairs. The said Ambassador had procured such favour and familiar access about his Majesty at all times, that he was upon an enterprise to have brought in secretly the banished Lords, to have fallen down upon their knees in the park of Stirling before his Majesty, at such a time as they should have so many friends in Court, as that his Majesty should have remained in their hands as masters of the Court for the time. But this enterprise failed him; for they durst not yet take such hazardous course, till they might lay their plots more substantially.

Then the said English Ambassador enterprised to transport his Majesty out of the park of Stirling unto England: and failing thereof, his Majesty was to be detained by force within the Castle of Stirling; whither companies of men were sent to be there at an appointed day. Of which design my brother Sir Robert got intelligence, and told it incontinently to the King's Majesty, giving him the names of the chief enterprisers. And because it came to one of their ears, who stoutly affirmed the contrary, my brother offered to maintain the truth thereof by combat: which his Majesty would not permit, because at last the person granted it to his Majesty. Whereupon my brother persuaded his Majesty, with great difficulty, to depart out of Stirling for ten or fifteen days, and hunt at

Kincardine, before the enterprises were ripe. Which so soon as the Ambassador understood, he fled in great fear and haste, without good night, or leave-taking of his Majesty: well instructed, and furnished with the promises of such as had assisted him in our Court, to persuade the noblemen who were banished in England to come home, where they should find friends enough before them at Court to put his Majesty in their hands. The Master of Gray also absented himself, and went to Dunkeld, and there remained with the Earl of Athole. And upon some bruits of enterprises, there was a proclamation set out in his Majesty's name, by such as had his ear, to purchase to themselves the more credit to be true and careful counsellors to his Majesty: which proclamation was afterward delayed by craft, that the banished might prevent the day, and come in and get the King in their hands, whereby they might discharge the proclamation at their pleasure.

In the meantime I received a letter to be at his Majesty with all possible diligence, and another from the Earl of Arran, entreating me to accompany him from Kinneil to the Court. But I went to his Majesty straight; whither also the said Earl came that same night: for he had procured liberty to return again to Court, and remain about his Majesty.

At my coming to Stirling, I had intelligence from a very sure hand, that the said Lords were already at the entry of the Borders, assisted by my Lord Hamilton, my Lord Maxwell, my Lord Bothwell, my Lord Hume, and sundry others, who had not formerly joined with them. Also the Earl of Athole, the Laird of Tullibardine, Buccleuch, Cesford, Cowdenknows, Drumlanrick, and others, who were in greatest credit about his Majesty, were to join with them at their in-coming. Whereof I advertised his Majesty and Colonel Stuart, who undertook to ride unto the Borders, and over-

throw them, before they were wholly convened together. Which might very probably have been effectuated, if the design had not been craftily disappointed by such as were about his Majesty, who appeared to set forward the Colonel's enterprise to please his Majesty, and to conquer credit; saying, they would write to Cowdenknows, Buccleuch, Cesford, and such others to assist him; whom they knew to be upon the contrary faction already: so that the design of scattering them was rendered by that craft ineffectual.

And because I perceived the crafty intention, and that they feared I would therewith acquaint his Majesty, they caused his Majesty to send me a forged errand to Dunkeld, that they might the better bring their purpose to pass without any contradiction. The pretext of my commission was to cause the Earl of Athole to stay at home, and not to join with the Lords who were to come shortly to Stirling. And by the way I was to deliver a letter to the baillies of St Johnston, to be upon their guard, and not to suffer any of the King's enemies to come within their town. The baillies inquired of me, what if the Earl of Athole and Master of Gray would desire to come within their town? I said, they might let themselves enter with ten in company, but no more. They alleged, that their letter specified not that. I told them, that was committed to me by mouth, the conclusion of my letter willing them to credit me.

When I came to Dunkeld, I knew that the Earl of Athole would not stay for me, who had 1000 men in readiness to take the town of St Johnston, and to come thence to Stirling, with the Master of Gray, who was yet with him. But however I told him, that Colonel Stuart was gone with forces, to defeat the Lords at their entry into the country, before they might be joined together. And that therefore he would do

well to lie at home, till he might understand the issue of the said enterprise. If that took effect, it would be folly to him to march forward; and if it did not succeed, he might do as his heart served him. He thought this counsel good, desiring me to write unto his Majesty for a licence to him and his, to remain at home; which I did. In the meantime the Master of Gray was sent for to Court, the ports of the town of Perth being refused to his men, who were come out of Angus to assist them.

At his returning to Court, he was as great with his Majesty as ever he was, remaining with him within the Castle of Stirling; where there were two factions, who discovered themselves so soon as they saw the malcontents and banished Lords draw near unto the town of Stirling, whither they came to the number of 3000, and entered into the town without stop. His Majesty inclined most to the faction who brought in the said Lords, who advised his Majesty to send some down to the town to commune and compound matters. Which was at length agreed upon, and concluded, that his Majesty should remain in their hands; that no rigour should be used to those who were about him. So that those who were mediators, appeared to be good instruments and stayers of bloodshed. For Arran was escaped, and fled at their first entry: but Colonel Stuart, only with ten or twelve, gave them such a charge in the midst of the narrow part of the town, that a little more help might have put them in great disorder. For the most part of their southland men were busy spoiling horse and goods.

The Lords, when they came into his Majesty's presence, fell down upon their knees, humbly begging pardon: adding, that the hard handling by Arran, and other partial persons about his Majesty, had compelled them upon plain necessity, and for their last refuge, to take the boldness to come in arms, for the

surety of their lives and lands, being ever humbly minded to serve his Majesty, and obey him.

The King again, like a prince full of courage and magnanimity, spoke unto them pertly and boastingly, as though he had been victorious over them, calling them traitors, and their enterprise plain treason. Yet, said he, in respect of your necessity, and in hope of your good behaviour in time coming, he should remit their faults; and the rather, because they used no vengeance nor cruelty, at their in-coming.

In the meantime, his Majesty committed and recommended the keeping of the Earls of Montrose and Crawford unto my Lord Hamilton; and the keeping of Colonel Stuart unto my Lord Maxwell. These three were for a time in some danger, because they had too violently espoused Arran's interest. The rest of his Majesty's servants were overlooked. Sir Robert my brother, and his son, were both courteously used. This moderate behaviour of the Lords conquered daily more and more favour from his Majesty. They pressing him in nothing but in humble intercession of such as formerly had his ear. A Parliament was proclaimed at Linlithgow for their restitution; whither his Majesty was convoyed to pass his time at hunting, thereby to recreate his spirits.

Many noblemen and others were written for, to come unto the said Parliament. Among the rest, the Earl of Athole, to whom I had been sent, and with whom I was at the Lords' coming to Stirling; where I was waiting upon an answer from his Majesty, of the letter which the Earl of Athole had desired me to write, as said is. When I came to kiss his Majesty's hand, I was gladly made welcome. His Majesty alleging, that I was Corby's messenger. I answered, that my absence with the Earl of Athole had saved all my own horse, and the town of St Johnston untaken, and had kept the said Earl from assisting with the rest;

so that if those, who had remained at Stirling with him, had kept the south, as well as I had done the north, their horse had been safe as well as mine was. His Majesty said, that God had turned all to the best: for he had been before made believe, that he would be in danger of his life, in case these noblemen had ever any more power about him; and yet though they had both him and his servants in their power, they had used no rigour nor vengeance. His Majesty remembered how frequently I had forewarned him of this and the like accidents, that I said would follow upon the Earl of Arran's rash proceedings. He acknowledged, he had been a bad instrument, and declared he should never have more place or credit about him. He desired me to wait at Court, and help to do all good offices betwixt him and his nobility; and to tell them the truth, who was to blame for their trouble, as having occasioned the same, seeing he had great prejudice and no advantage thereby; it being far from his inclination to seek any man's life, lands or goods, but only the peace and quiet of the country, and the settling of the subjects among themselves; which I could testify for a truth, the verity thereof consisting within my knowledge.

His Majesty told me also, how he had shown unto the noblemen my honest and friendly advices toward them, and that I opposed myself continually to the Earl of Arran's proceedings. He desired me also to help to satisfy the ministers who were seeking to be restored unto their former free assemblies, which he had forbidden them at the advice of the Earl of Arran; the same being one of the occasions of all the following troubles, which were chiefly grounded upon the dissatisfaction of the ministers, by whom the country was influenced. So that I tarried a while at Court, till matters began to take some settling. Divers of the Lords also were earnest with me to stay, offering me

great kindness; saying, that his Majesty had told them every man's part and behaviour in relation to their banishment and persecution; and that I was ever for a moderate course, desiring and pressing, as his Majesty's interest, an act of oblivion to be passed for all bygones during his minority. The said Lords therefore caused me to propose some of their suits to his Majesty, whom in nothing they would press beyond his own pleasure.

But the Council was of different opinions concerning the restoring of the ministers to their former privileges and freedoms; where I was brought in to give my opinion. The greatest part thought fit to delay them for a time, chiefly such as had remained about his Majesty, and had said too much before to the contrary. But they had yet some private designs hatching in their heads, which could not be brought about, if the country were wholly in peace: which they knew would be, were the ministers satisfied. My opinion was, that his Majesty was not to be blamed that the noblemen were banished, or the ministers' privileges taken from them, seeing all these insolencies were committed by evil instruments, who ruled over his Majesty's good mind, to satisfy their own ambition; who now being fled and absent, I knew no reason why the ministers should not be restored to their former privileges, as well as the noblemen to their lands and honours; the one being no less contributive to the settling of the kingdom as the other; seeing, if this were omitted, the blame would still lie upon his Majesty, and the country would be still in trouble. The Secretary Maitland was against this opinion; for he had formerly spoken too much on the contrary. But the rest of the noblemen and the Council thought my opinion best. But yet at that time it was not followed, nor granted at that Parliament. Yet shortly after, it was found his Majesty's interest, and con-

ducing for fully establishing peace in the country, that the ministers should be restored to all their former privileges.

It is above mentioned, that the Master Almoner was sent to Denmark. Shortly after Colonel Stuart took occasion to go thither about his own affairs; for he had a pension off the King of Denmark. He obtained also some writing, whereby he was commissioned to speak of the King's marriage with the King of Denmark's eldest daughter. And they both returned with so good and friendly answers, that there was little more mention made of the restitution of the Isles of Orkney. The King of Denmark was also put in hope by them, that his Majesty would send the next summer an honourable Ambassage to Denmark, to deal further in these matters.

I have showed already the dangerous practices of the English Ambassador Mr Wotton, and a part of their effects; but the principal is yet behind.

The Council of England having concluded to take the life from the Queen's Majesty his Highness's mother, after she had been many years kept captive in England, thought first to get the King her son in their hands, and to put him in hope, that he should obtain the Crown of England, the rather, that he was within their country; and, in the meantime, to be sure, that he should not be able to revenge his mother's death, but might be as a pledge among them, in case his countrymen, or his foreign and French friends would pretend to menace them, or to make war for his liberty, or in revenge of her death: for in that case they might threaten to cut him off, if for his cause they should be troubled. And however it were, through time it was suspected that they intended to take his life also, after that they had laid their plots how to make him odious to the people by false counterfeit letters, and alleged practices (as they had craftily and deceitfully

alleged upon his mother) against the State. But finding this their design of carrying him to England discovered by my brother's intelligence, the said Ambassador fled, as said is. And for the next best, thought fit to see his Majesty put in the hands of the most part of the nobility, who were banished for the time, and during their banishment had been sheltered in England, who they thought by fitted instruments might be stirred up to take his life, at least to keep him in perpetual prison, in revenge of the injury had been done them. But herein they were disappointed: for they used themselves so moderately and discreetly, that they sought nothing but their own native country and lands, and that they might have access to serve and obey their Prince, without any further vengeance or rigour against their particular enemies: as their actions and proceedings have sufficiently declared since, to the great increase of their favour with his Majesty, and estimation of the whole country.

It hath been rarely or never seen in any country, that there have been so great alterations, with so little bloodshed, as hath been in Scotland in this King's time. Now those who were enemies to our Queen and King's title to the Crown of England, seeing some of their fetches to fail them, entered in deliberation what way to proceed to take the Queen's life. The Council of England, a great part of the nobility and states, fell down upon their knees, humbly requesting her Majesty to have compassion upon their unsure estate, albeit she should slight her own; alleging, that her life was in hazard by the practices of the Queen of Scotland, and their lives and fortunes. She alleged, that her heart would not suffer her to let any sentence be given forth against the Queen her dear sister and cousin, so near of her royal blood. Yet she was at last moved, for very pity of their conditions, to let sentence of death pass against her, upon this express condition,

that it should rather serve to be a terror to her, to oblige her to cease from making any more practices, than that she really intended to see the blood of so noble a princess shed. And in the meantime, the written sentence was given to be kept to Mr Davison, one of her Secretaries, not to be delivered without her Majesty's express command. Nevertheless the said Davison, being deceived by the Council, delivered unto them the said written sentence of death. Whereupon they gave the Queen warning a night before, to prepare her for God. Which short warning she took very patiently, and lay not down that night to sleep, but wrote some letters unto the King her son, the King of France, and some other princes, her friends. And after she had made her testament, she put the gold she had in as many little purses as she had servants, more or less in every purse, conform to their qualities and deservings. The rest of the night she employed in prayer. And being in the morning conveyed out of her chamber, to the great hall where the scaffold was prepared, she took her death patiently and constantly, courageously ending her life, being cruelly handled by the executioner, having received divers strokes of the axe. Which execution was the boldlier performed, because that some Scotsmen assured them, that the King her son would soon forget it. Albeit his Majesty, when he understood this sorrowful news, took heavy displeasure, and convened a Parliament, wherein, lamenting the mishandling of his mother by his enemies who were in England, he desired the assistance of his subjects to be avenged. Where all the Estates in one voice cried out in a great rage, to set forward; promising that they should all hazard their lives, and spend their goods and estates largely to that effect, to revenge that unkindly and unlawful murder. Which put the Council of England in great fear for a while; but some of our countrymen comforted them,

and so did some English that haunted our Court, alleging it would be soon forgot. Others said, that the blood was already fallen from his Majesty's heart; and if it were not, they doubted not but to cause the matter fall out to their satisfaction.

First when the King's Majesty heard that they were about to accuse and convict his mother, he sent the Master of Gray and Sir Robert my brother to deal for her Majesty. Where my brother spoke brave and stout language to the Council of England; so that the Queen herself threatened his life. And afterwards he would have been retained captive, had not the Master of Gray's credit prevented it, and the promises he made; whereby they were both suffered to come home together.

Four months before, his Majesty caused send for me, that I might prepare myself for England, to confirm a bond of alliance offensive and defensive with the Queen and Crown of England; and to take the Queen of England's oath for observing the said bond. And Mr Randolph, who was here, was to take the King's oath, and use the like ceremonies here.

At my coming to Court, I did what I could to be shifted of the said commission, being a matter of so great consequence, as an indirect breaking of the bond with France. Yet his Majesty would take no excuse, but thought fit to send me thither, that I might get him sure knowledge of sundry things, which his Majesty supposed another would not get; by reason that all his mother's friends and his own, that were in that Court and country, were best and longest acquainted with my brother and me. But so soon as Mr Randolph had heard that I was to be sent to England, he desired audience of his Majesty, and used all the persuasions he could to get me stayed, and another sent that might be meeter for the time. After that his Majesty had reasoned long with him there-

about, he called upon me, and told me how that Mr Randolph had spoken so much good of me, whom he loved better than any Scots subject, upon account of our old acquaintance; but had said that I would not be acceptable to the Queen his mistress at that time, because Sir Robert my brother had been always, and was yet upon his mother's faction, and also that my brother Sir Andrew of Garvock was for the present in England her Majesty's master of the household. His Majesty said, he replied again, that I was never esteemed a factious person, and so would not yield at the first. But I requested his Majesty to grant him his desire: for I had no will of that commission, knowing that there was nothing meant but fraudful dealing by England with him at that time. It is for that cause, said he, that I would have you there. And it is for that same cause, Sir, said I, that I would gladly shun the same, with your Majesty's favour.

His Majesty said, he wondered that Randolph should seem to like so well of me, and yet desire another to be sent. I answered his Majesty, that in France and Italy we liked each other very well, but in the handling his Majesty's affairs we shot at sundry marks. His Majesty would still have me to accept that commission, and asked whom I believed that Mr Randolph would desire to be sent. I answered, either the Master of Gray, or Mr Archibald Douglas. For the Master of Gray had made moyen for Mr Archibald, and had brought him home out of England, and had summoned an assize of his own friends to cleanse him of the late King's murder. And being cleansed, he haunted the Court familiarly with his Majesty. It was he indeed whom Mr Randolph desired to be sent, or the Master of Gray, or both in a commission. But his Majesty would not consent thereto. Then the Laird of Cowdenknows, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, desired the commission. But Mr Randolph would have none

other, causing the Queen his mistress to write back, that it was unnecessary to send any Ambassador for that errand at that time; only desiring that the King would write with his own hand, that one should be sent when she thought time; assuring by his said letter, that it was in effect already concluded in his mind, as if the ceremony were performed. Which letter was sent to the English Ambassador, who was resident in France for the time, to be produced before the King of France and the Queen-mother, to let them know, that albeit the King of Scotland was suiting her Majesty for an alliance offensive and defensive (which would be a clear breach of the old bond with France) yet she would not put them in suspicion and jealousy of her in consenting thereto, as not much valuing the Scottish King's fickle friendship or feud, so long as France and she kept their peace and friendship together. Which was done only to disgrace and discredit the King with the King of France. So that there proceeded no more from the said intended bond. And I was not a little satisfied that my hands had been free thereof.

Likewise when the bruit was of the Spanish navy, in the year 1587, that they were coming to these parts, I was ordered to be sent to Spain; which voyage I happily also eschewed.

Now to return again to Mr Archibald Douglas. He returned back to England, to remain Ambassador there for his Majesty. By the which means he obtained the greater credit with the Queen his Majesty's mother, to her no small prejudice, the same contributing to her ruin; he having discovered several passages betwixt her and himself, and other Catholics of England, tending to her liberation: which were made use of against her Majesty, for taking her life. So soon as my brother Sir Robert was sent there, to use sharp and boasting language to see if it might save the Queen's life, he discharged Mr Archibald of the office

of Ambassador. This I set down in a parenthesis, to show how far a good King was abused and misled, by minions whom he liked well, to his great hurt and dishonour. In the meantime, for some disorder upon the west Border betwixt the Maxwells and Johnstones, his Majesty went there to reform the disobedience. But some houses were kept out, and would not render unto him. Whereupon Mr John Maitland being made Chancellor, the Master of Gray, and other favourers of the English faction, did council his Majesty to send to Berwick, because it was alleged to be nearest, to borrow cannons to besiege the said house. Which guns were readily and gladly lent by the Governor of Berwick. Which apparently he durst not have done, without knowledge and consent of the Queen and Council, who judged thereby that his Majesty had forgot the great boast that was made at the forenamed Parliament, concerning the revenge of his mother's death. For after his Majesty had ripely considered the best and worst of that deed, remembered himself of the many friends he had in England, who had no hand in his mother's death, he thought it not just to trouble the peace and quiet of the kingdom for the deed of a few who guided the Queen and Court, he being thereof himself apparent heir. And also because the Queen was of good years, and not like to live long, he was resolved to abide his time to be revenged upon his enemies. As for the Queen his good sister, she had sworn and purged herself of the death of his mother, being deceived by her Council and Secretary Davison, whom she committed to the Tower of London. This was the way of conveyance of that ugly unkindly murder.

Shortly after this, there was a great bruit of the Spanish navy bound to land in England, Scotland or Ireland. And then also were entered about his Majesty a new faction, whereof the Earl of Huntly was chief,

who had lately married the Duke of Lenox's sister. This new faction aspired by little and little to shoot out the Master of Gray, the Chancellor, and others their dependers, and to retain part of those who were in Court before; where there were divers conspiracies to kill the Chancellor: and such as had assisted him were to be removed, because they did stick too long by the Court. The Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, and others, thought to have taken the King and kept him. And albeit two of their enterprises had failed, yet they were desirous to be nearest his Majesty at the in-coming of the Spaniards. And in the meantime they resolved to cause the King send Sir John Seaton[1] to Spain; but his Majesty would have none to be sent but me. Whereupon the Chancellor and my brother Sir Robert did write to me, desiring me to refuse the employment; because they said his Majesty would have one there of his own Religion, who would not be corrupted, in whom he could trust. Yet his Majesty had inclination to deal with Spain, and I had as little desire to undertake the voyage, albeit Sir George Douglas desired the said commission, as one who had assisted his Majesty's mother; yet it took no effect. The Earl of Huntly in the meantime procured a gift of the benefice of Dunfermling, which was lately taken from the Master of Gray now decourted, and given to him.

How that the Spanish great navy was three years in making their preparations, and were sufficiently and substantially furnished with men, ammunition, and all sorts of necessaries, is now manifest to all Europe. What was their intent and purpose was so secret, that the chieftains of the army knew no more, but as they should understand by the opening of their stamped instructions at every appointed landing-place. Many were of opinion, that they were first disappointed by

[1] Seton.

the Duke of Parma Governor of Flanders, who had behaved himself in his charge so circumspectly, in his promises so truly, in enterprises so stoutly, that he won the hearts of the soldiers, and the favour of his enemies, so that he was suspected by the King of Spain to entertain designs of usurping the estate of Flanders: and therefore he was minded to remove him out of that great and rich government. He being hereupon discontent, as was alleged, neither furnished the said army victuals, nor assisted them with ships, nor would he suffer them to land in his bounds. At last they were so jealous of him, that they landed not, but were lying at anchor, where Sir Francis Drake by a stratagem subtly devised, of a ship full of powder with a burning link, which kindled up the powder so soon as the English ship was driven by a direct vehement wind within the midst of the Spanish ships, burning thereby several of the greatest of them, and causing the rest to cut the cables of their anchors for haste, to eschew the fury of the fire. And in the meantime God sent such a vehement storm of wind, that the whole navy was blown and broken upon divers coasts of our isles, and of Ireland; and their wreck was the greater, that they wanted their anchors.

It is before mentioned, that Mr Peter Young Almoner to his Majesty, and Colonel Stuart were returned from Denmark well rewarded, and contented with everything that they had seen, and chiefly with the fair young princess; and also how they had put the King of Denmark in hope, that the King should the next summer send thither an honourable Ambassage, to deal further to the increase of a greater amity. And for this effect, the Bishop of St Andrew's, the Laird of Segie, and I, were named to be sent: but I was retired, and had no will to meddle, perceiving his Majesty's affairs so retarded by such as had greatest handling about him. Therefore, upon my refusal, the Chancellor

advised the Laird of Barnbarrow, and the said Mr Peter, to be again employed in that matter, with uncertain and irresolute instructions to propose marriage, and with divers fair allegiances concerning his Majesty's sufficient right to the Isles of Orkney; which the King of Denmark was minded to use the more sharply, but for the hope he was put in, of the apparent marriage of the King's Majesty with his eldest daughter.

These Ambassadors were not well embarked, when Monsieur Dubartas arrived here to visit the King's Majesty, who, he heard, had him in great esteem, for his rare poesy set out in the French tongue. He would not say that he had a secret commission to propose the Princess of Navarre as a fit marriage for his Majesty, but that the King of Navarre's secretary willed him, seeing he was to come this way, as on his own head, to propose the said marriage. Monsieur Dubartas's qualities were so good, and his credit so great with his Majesty, that it appeared, if the Ambassadors had not already made sail, that their voyage should have been stayed for that season. The Chancellor assured Monsieur Dubartas (as he showed me) that the marriage of Denmark should not take effect. For our Ambassadors had indeed such strait instructions, and so slender a commission, that it was enough to have caused the King of Denmark to start and to quarrel with our King, were it not that they dealt above their commission. Which kept that King in some temper, albeit they returned without fruit, full of displeasure, thinking themselves scorned, as they were indeed.

In the meantime that they were in Denmark, Monsieur Dubartas being in Falkland with his Majesty, came to my house, to persuade me to take a commission in hand, which, he said, his Majesty would lay to my charge; which was, to be sent unto the King of Navarre, and to be acquainted with Madame the

Princess, his sister. And because his Majesty knew that I would be loth to go, he named also my Lord Tungland, my brother, who undertook the journey, and became well acquainted with the said Princess, and was well treated and rewarded by the King her brother, now King of France, and brought with him the picture of the Princess, with a good report of her rare qualities.

The Laird of Barnbarrow and Mr Peter Young being returned back from Denmark, declared that the King of Denmark thought nothing of their commission, judging it but fruitless dealing, and delaying of time, and fair language, without any power to conclude. I am uncertain whether he got intelligence of his Majesty's sending my brother to the King of Navarre: but the marrying of his eldest daughter with the Duke of Brunswick gave some appearance that he had got some notice thereof from the Court of England, who were abundantly well informed of all our proceedings.

After this, Colonel Stuart, desirous to see the marriage with the King of Denmark's daughter take effect, went thither, upon his own expenses, divers times. And seeing the eldest daughter already married, he excused the King's Majesty, and laid the blame upon those who had the handling of his affairs. So that the King of Denmark promised yet to give his second daughter unto the King, upon conditions that Ambassadors would be sent there the next year, before the first day of May. In the meantime the King of Denmark took sickness and departed this life, leaving the same commission with his Council, and such as were appointed for Regents of the realm.

Now the King being suited in marriage by many great princes, and his Ambassadors being come back both out of Denmark and Navarre, with the pictures of the young Princesses; his Majesty determined first

to ask council of God by earnest prayer, to direct him where it would be meetest for the weal of himself, and his country. So that after fifteen days advisement and devout prayer, as said is, he called his Council together in his cabinet, and told them how he had been advising about that matter of so great concernment to himself and his country the space of fifteen days, and that he was now resolute to marry in Denmark.

The Council appeared all to relish his resolution, requiring meet instruments to be employed to complete the marriage, and to make the contract. Then his Majesty said, that he had already chosen me in his mind for one, desiring the Council to choose another; which they did, to wit, the Lord of Altry, uncle to the Earl Marischal. We two being written for, and come to Court, found not such earnestness with the Council as with the King: which my Lord of Altry perceiving, he drew home again, excusing himself upon his age and sickliness. His Majesty used many persuasions and reasons to induce me to undertake the voyage, declaring how he had many times sent for me to be employed in Ambassages, and could never tell why I went not. I answered, that his Majesty would have done me that honour many times above my deserving, which he would not have done, if he had known my insufficiency for such matters of so great import, as I did myself. His Majesty said, that this business concerning his marriage was the greatest matter that ever he had to do, and that he would take no refusal. I said, that my Lord Tungland my brother was far meeter than myself, being a good scholar, who could perfectly speak the High Dutch, the Latin, and the Fleming languages, with the French tongue. But his Majesty would still repose upon me in that errand; but, at my desire, was satisfied that my brother should be put in commission with me.

Then his Majesty said, Albeit the Council will form your instructions; yet you shall receive mine out of my own mouth.

First, 'If the King of Denmark had been alive, he would not have stood to have given a great portion with his daughter, wherein it is probable the Regent and his Council will be as sparing as they can. I doubt not therefore but you will endeavour to draw from them as much as can be had; but at length stand not upon money to conclude the marriage.'

Secondly, 'Know what friendship and assistance they will make me, when it may please God to place me by right in the kingdom of England, by decease of this Queen, in case any countryman or other would wrongously pretend to usurp and debar me from the same.'

Thirdly, 'Concerning the Isles of Orkney, you may choose any man of law that you please; for that head must be answered and debated by form of law. Always if the marriage take effect, that purpose would not be over-precisely handled. It may be that my Council will give you straiter conditions; but this instruction of mine you shall follow, let them say what they please.'

I told his Majesty, that I would choose to take with me for a lawyer Mr John Skeen. His Majesty said, he judged there were many better lawyers. I said, he was best acquainted with the German customs, and could make them long harangues in Latin; that he was a good, true, stout man, like a Dutchman. Then his Majesty was content that he should go with me.

After that I had tarried long at Court, and could see no preparation for our dispatch, neither money nor ship making ready; the appointed time wherein we should have been in Denmark being past, to wit, before the 1st of May: for it was so ordered by the King of Denmark ere he died, that in case that day was not kept, that they might think themselves but

scoffed. This moved me to employ my friends at Court, to cause another be named in my place, seeing so many suiting to get the said commission. And the Chancellor gave me such terrors as he could for his part.

Now the Earl Marischal was desirous to supply the place of his uncle my Lord of Altry; and his Majesty was content that he should be sent thither. Whereupon I took occasion to represent to his Majesty, that the said Earl was very well qualified for that employment, and that he would go the better contented, if he might have in commission with him some of his own friends and acquaintance. His Majesty answered, that it was his part to choose his own Ambassadors; that the Earl Marischal should have the first place as a nobleman; but that he would repose the chief handling with the Regent and Council of Denmark upon me. Then I declared, that the appointed time was past, and that yet there was no appearance of any preparation of money or ship; wherewith his Majesty was very angry. I named the Laird of Barnbarrow or Mr Peter Young, as very fit to be employed in the commission with the Earl Marischal, because they had been there already: but he would not hear thereof; for the blame had been wrongously laid upon their insufficiency, it being alleged, that their mismanagement was the occasion that matters formerly took not the desired success. Would not this kind of court-dealing scar any man from meddling in such weighty matters, where such men are preferred to have the special credit about a prince, who mind only their own designs, and not the prince's advantage?

Those who at present ordered affairs, counselled his Majesty first to send to the Queen of England, and require her advice and consent to the said marriage with Denmark; who they knew would not only dis-

suade him from the said marriage, but also stay him from any marriage, as she and her Council had ever done and dealt, both with his mother and himself. When I understood of this new delay, I obtained licence to go home to my house, and make me ready against the next warning. In the meantime, the season of the year was well spent. The Queen of England's answer returned, not to marry with Denmark. She said, that she had credit with the King and Princess of Navarre; that she would employ the same for effectuating that marriage, which was much more his Majesty's interest. In the meantime she did write to the King of Navarre, to hold back the marriage of his sister three years, for such frivolous pretexts as carried no reason. Upon this answer of England, our Council was convened, and enticed to vote against the marriage of Denmark. Whereat his Majesty took such a despite, that he caused one of his most familiar servants to deal secretly with some of the deacons of the craftsmen of Edinburgh, to make a mutiny against the Chancellor and Council, threatening to slay him in case the marriage with the King of Denmark's daughter were hindered, or longer delayed.

This boasting and fear caused a new resolution to be taken, that the Earl Marischal should be dispatched with diligence, with the Constable of Dundee, and the Lord Andrew Keith, whom the said Earl requested his Majesty to send with him. Which his Majesty granted the more easily, because he found so many difficulties in the matter, and some of my friends had informed him, that it would be very satisfactory to me that some other were employed.

Now it was yet a long time before the Earl Marischal could be ready, and dispatched. Then as to his dealing with the Council of Denmark, his power to conclude was so limited, and his commission so slender, that he was compelled to send back again my Lord Ding-

wall, either for a licence to come home, or for a sufficient power to conclude. Where it chanced that he found his Majesty at Aberdeen, and the Chancellor and most part of the Council absent. Which was a great furtherance to get a full power to conclude the contract and ceremony of the marriage, by the Earl Marischal; who was incontinently dispatched by the Regent and Council of Denmark, and the Queen sent home with him well accompanied. But the tempestuous winds drove them upon the coast of Norway, where they landed, and stayed a long time for fair winds and weather. Which storm of wind was alleged to be raised by the witches of Denmark, as by sundry of them was acknowledged, when they were for that cause burnt. That which moved them thereto was, as they said, a blow which the Admiral of Denmark gave to one of the bailiffs of Copenhagen, whose wife, consulting with her associates in that art, raised the storm, to be revenged upon the said Admiral.

His Majesty had heard that they were upon the sea, and left nothing undone to make all in a readiness, to receive the Queen and her company honourably; but in the meantime, was very impatient and sorrowful for her long delay, laying the blame thereof upon the Chancellor, and such other of his Council as had plainly voted against the said marriage, and thereby had delayed the dispatch of the Ambassadors so long, until the season of sailing upon the seas was near past.

The storms were also so great here, that a passage-boat perished betwixt Burntisland and Leith, wherein was a gentlewoman called Jean Kennedy, who had been long in England with the Queen his Majesty's mother, and was since married to Sir Andrew Melville of Garvock my brother, master of his Majesty's household. Which gentlewoman being discreet and grave, was sent for by his Majesty to be about the Queen

his bedfellow. She being desirous to make diligence, would not by the storm be stopped the sailing of the ferry, where the vehement storm drave a ship forcibly upon the said boat, and drowned the gentlewoman and all the persons, except two. This the Scottish witches confessed to his Majesty was procured by them. In that boat also I lost two servants.

Now his Majesty remained quietly in the Castle of Craigmillar, dissatified, as said is, with the greatest part of his Council. He could neither sleep nor rest. In the meantime, he directed Colonel Stuart to my brother Sir Robert and me, charging us to take care of his mishandled Estate in time coming, lamenting that he had been abused by such as formerly he had too much trusted to, and that he had always found us faithful and careful of his welfare. He therefore desired us to sit down, and advise how he might best put remedy to things bypast, and prevent such inconveniences in time coming, seeing he had determined hereafter to repose most upon our council.

Our answer to his Majesty was, that we had great reason to render his Majesty most humble thanks for the favourable opinion he entertained of us, which we should endeavour to deserve, and were very sorry for the displeasure his Majesty had taken; praying his Majesty to take patience, seeing that as he had always reposed upon God and not man, that the same God would mend his estate, as he had oft-times done before: that our care should be presently, how to receive the Queen honourably, who was upon the sea (we daily looking for her landing) and next, how to treat and reward the noblemen of Denmark, her Majesty's convoy. That being done, and they returned back to their country, it would be best time to take order with the affairs of the kingdom, conform to his Majesty's desire, with the concurrence of so many of the Council as his Majesty had found most faithful,

and least factious. But we did not think fit to take upon us the whole burden, in respect that hath been always the chief cause of the wreck of Scots Kings, especially of all his Majesty's own troubles, in laying the whole burden of his affairs upon any one or two, who most commonly for greediness and ambition abuse good princes, and few or none dare control them, for fear of their great authority and credit.

The Chancellor being advertised of his Majesty's discontent and displeasure, as said is, made preparation to go off the country, and caused it to come to his Majesty's ears, that he would sail himself and bring home the Queen with him, and that they were all but triflers who were with her. He forgot not to anoint the hands of some who were most familiar with his Majesty, to interpret this his design so favourably, that it made the King forget all bygones; and, by little and little, he informed him so well of the said voyage, and the great charges he had bestowed upon a fair and swift-sailing ship, that his Majesty was moved to take the voyage himself, and to sail in the same ship with the Chancellor, with great secrecy, and short preparation, making no man privy thereto, but such as the Chancellor pleased, and such as formerly had all been upon his faction. He had also heard an inkling of a word, that his Majesty, in the time of his high displeasure, had said, that he would lay the burden of his affairs upon my brother and me; whereat he had a great envy and despite, and was the cause why his Majesty made me not privy to his voyage. He was very discontent, when his Majesty had appointed my said brother Robert to be left vice-chancellor, and convene the Council in his Majesty's absence, to hold hand with the Duke of Lenox, my Lord Hamilton, Bothwell and other noblemen, with the officers of the crown, and to rule the country in his Majesty's absence.

Three other ships sailed with his Majesty, wherein

was the Justice-clerk, Carmichael the Provost of Lincluden, Sir William Keith, George Hume, James Sandilands, with all his Majesty's ordinary servants. The weather was rough enough; for it was in the beginning of winter. But the last day was so extreme stormy, that they were all in great hazard: but his Majesty landed that same night at [Oslo] in Norway, where the Queen was abiding the turning of the wind, and there he accomplished his marriage in person. But he could not be persuaded to return to Scotland that winter, by reason of the raging seas and storm he had sustained a little before.

The Queen and Council of Denmark, being advertised that his Majesty was resolved to abide all that winter, sent and requested him to come to Denmark: whither he went by land, with the Queen his new bride, and behaved himself honourably and liberally by the way, and at the Court of Denmark, where he tarried during his abode there.

But the company who were with his Majesty put him to great trouble to agree their continual janglings, strife, pride and partialities. The Earl Marischal, by reason that he was an ancient Earl, and had been first employed in this honourable commission, thought to have the first place next unto his Majesty, so long as he was there. The Chancellor, by reason of his office, would needs have the pre-eminence. There were also contentions betwixt him and the Justice-clerk. The Constable of Dundee and my Lord Dingwall could not agree about place. George Hume did quietly shoot out William Keith from his office of Master of the Wardrobe. At length they were all divided into two factions: the one for the Earl Marischal; the other for the Chancellor, who was the stronger, because the King took his part: so that the Chancellor triumphed, and, being yet in Denmark, devised many reformations to be made and new forms and customs to be set for-

ward at his Majesty's return; as, to have no Privy Council but the exchequer, and the nobility to be debarred from it; sundry of the Lords of the Session to be put out, who he judged had no dependence upon him, and others his creatures put in their room. He caused a proclamation to be penned, which was sent home to be proclaimed before his Majesty's return, that none of the nobility should come to Court not being sent for, and then to bring with them six persons and no more: likewise every Baron to bring but four. Likewise he resolved to cause ward such as had been unruly and disobedient during his Majesty's absence, as the Earl Bothwell, the Lord Hume, and divers borderers and highlandmen.

The next spring his Majesty came home, and landed at Leith, well accompanied with the Admiral of Denmark, and divers of the Council and many other gentlemen. All whom his Majesty treated honourably; and after the Queen's coronation, they were magnificently rewarded with more than twelve golden chains, and many medals of gold with his Majesty's picture.

His Majesty, at his landing, was pleased to send to me to bear them company; which I did until their parting, to his Majesty's great contentment.

In the meantime the Earl of Worcester was sent Ambassador from England, to welcome and congratulate both their Majesties with some presents unto the Queen's Majesty. Upon whom I was commanded by his Majesty to attend diligently all the time of his being here, and at his parting he was presented with a ring of seven great diamonds. He parted well satisfied, and so did all his company.

His Majesty was pleased at leisure to declare unto me his whole voyage, and proceedings during his absence. He said, that he wished that I had been sent alone Ambassador to Denmark, in place of the Earl Marischal, and the two who were joined with

him; he was so ill informed of the said Earl. I answered, that I understood that the Earl for his part had behaved himself very honourably and discreetly, as the Admiral of Denmark and divers of the company had informed me. But his Majesty had been so possessed with the Chancellor's misinformation, that for the time he believed it. He said further to me, that he had greater trouble to keep good order among the few company that was in Denmark, than my brother Sir Robert had to keep quiet all Scotland, during his absence. Which praise my brother indeed deserved; for he had such favour and credit among the nobility, Barons, and boroughs, that they followed his advice, believing that he would not say but the truth in his Majesty's name, and that he would give no misinformation against them at his home-coming. But the Chancellor envied my brother for the great opinion his Majesty had of him, though he had been the greatest instrument of bringing the Chancellor into Court with his Majesty first, when his Majesty passed to his liberty at St Andrews; and afterwards of getting him the keeping of the Great Seal, and in effect of making him Chancellor since. The Chancellor remembered also of his Majesty's deliberation before his going to Denmark, and the direction he had sent by Colonel Stuart to my brother and me: which the Chancellor now went about to prevent, by taking occasion to calumniate my brother in his absence, because he was not present in the time, when there was to do with his office to furnish some little necessaries to the strangers; he having been sent for to visit his wife lying at the point of death in Burntisland. The Chancellor told his Majesty, that during his Majesty's absence, he used every Saturday so to do, tarrying three or four days, neglecting the common affairs of the country: and that it was the Clerk-register, Alexander Hay, who had done

all the good offices, which were alleged to have been done by Sir Robert. Whereby he kindled up so the King's anger against him, that he threatened to ward him, and take his office from him, six days after he was so much praised for the great and faithful services he had done. So ill handled oft-times are good princes, and faithful servants, by crafty calumnies. But his Majesty being thereafter fully informed of the matter, soon repented his anger, and converted the same against the said Chancellor upon another occasion.

There was emulation betwixt the Council and the Chancellor. The Council complaining that the Chancellor was the deviser of all the wrongs that were done, causing his Majesty to subscribe sundry hurtful signatures and commissions, getting them passed for himself and his friends, taking thus the best and most profitable casualties to himself and his dependers.

The Chancellor again endeavoured to have the most part of the Council at his devotion; or such, who would not be in all things ruled by him, changed, and others placed in their room, who would have more dependence upon him. Whereupon the Council consulted, and concluded together, to cast the Chancellor. Yet one of the Council, who had a matter of great moment to be dispatched, to curry favour with the Chancellor, discovers the design to him, who, having that knowledge thereof beforehand, had the opportunity of preventing the enterprise, as to the effect designed. Yet at his first coming to speak with his Majesty, he rebuked him very sorely. And leaving him, he took me by the hand, saying, I am the worst handled prince in the world, as I shall show you to-morrow; for now when I go to bed, I desire not to enter upon so melancholy subjects so late: therefore send for your brother, and at his coming I shall declare unto you both more of my mind. I cannot forget an

expression of yours, 'that it is the greatest art in the world to be true.'

At my brother's coming, we found that the only cause was, that the Chancellor, and some with him, would have ruined those who were his Majesty's truest friends. Yet my brother, finding it his Majesty's interest, took up the matter betwixt the Council and the Chancellor, to his Majesty's great contentment.

After the coronation of the Queen's Majesty, and banqueting and rewarding the strangers, and that they returned home well contented; there was another convention appointed, for taking order with the affairs of the country. To the which many noblemen and Barons were written for; but very few obeyed the said letters, or would come near the Court: because when they were first written for to the Queen's coronation, they judged themselves slighted; for hall, chamber, and all doors were so straitly shut and undiscreetly kept, that they could get no entry. Therefore many of them returned discontent to their houses; for there was no man appointed to welcome them, or to direct them, except so many as were made knights. Which was the cause that so few came again to Court, the next time when they were written for.

Those who had been lately in Denmark with his Majesty, thought to retain him and the whole government in their hands, and had given his Majesty Council not to be over familiar, nor of too easy access. That none should be permitted to enter his chamber, but such as were gentlemen of his chamber, with the Chancellor, and some of the Council. They were not content to have the whole access, and only handling at all other times, but even also at the conventions, they continually occupied his Majesty's ear in presence of the whole assembly, thereby to let their great credit be seen, that they might be courted by such as had to do with the King.

None of them all had more occasion of occupying his Majesty's ear, than I had at that time. Yet when it would please him to call upon me, to know how every stranger was treated and satisfied, and to be informed about other things; I would give him a short answer, and instantly retire. Which was perceived by many of the nobility and Barons who were come to the convention; in the which sundry necessary reformations were intended, though nothing was performed: which was the more complained of, because every man was in expectation to see a settled estate at his Majesty's home-coming, by reason of his Majesty's promise made publicly in the high Kirk of Edinburgh, to be a new man, and to take up another kind of care and doing in his own person, than ever had been seen or used before. Which certainly his Majesty was very willing to have put in execution; but also he lacked help and assistance: for such as he reposed most upon, had no further care of his affairs, than as they found could best serve their own particular profit, and advancement to such ambitious aims as they shot at; making his Majesty in the meantime believe that all was well ruled and ordered. The contrary being too manifest, moved me to present unto his Majesty some memorials and informations concerning his estate and government; the most part whereof I had set down in writing, after that Colonel Stuart had brought commission from his Majesty to my brother Sir Robert and me, before his Majesty's voyage to bring home the Queen, during the time that he was in great vexation in Craigmillar, and discontent with the Chancellor, and such as were his dependers in the Council, who had been hinderers of his marriage. For at that time he had desired my said brother and me to sit down and advise upon some good rules for the establishing of some good order in his country; the copy whereof was as followeth:

"Sir,

"Your Majesty's happy return hath greatly rejoiced your whole subjects. The expectation they have had of you ever since your birth, hath been great, both far and near. Your public promise to take upon you a more kingly care since your home-coming, through greater experience, hath augmented a good hope of a gracious government. Your Religion pure and clean, your zeal to godliness and justice, your chaste and sincere life, your promptitude to suppress rebellions when they arise, ravisheth the hearts of most part of your subjects to love you, and esteem you the best King that hath been these many years in this realm. And yet they all marvel with stupefied minds, to see your affairs so unluckily handled, complaining that your country was never in greater disorder; the Kirk never worse contented, their dissatisfaction influencing the whole Kingdom; your house so evil at a point; the nobility so divided; the Barons were never in greater poverty; the commons never more oppressed; never more taxations raised, mostly applied to the utility of private persons; never more Parliaments holden; never more laws broken; your proclamations and missives noways obeyed; never was murder and bloodshed more increased, than since your home-coming, and public promise of better government.

"Therefore, Sir, as in a perilous storm upon the sea, or to quench sudden kindled fire on the land, every man's help is requisite and acceptable; so I hope your Majesty's clemency will consider, and your prudence will take in good part, this my dutiful declaration and admonition, the boldlier enterprised under the warrant of your favourable alliance, following your commandment before your Majesty's going to Denmark, that my brother and I should set down the causes of the evil and disorders that have been, and

yet are in the kingdom, with the meetest remedies for reforming and amending the same.

"There be three chief causes of all these evils and disorders.

"The First is concerning God's service.

"The Second is concerning your own Estate, and the provision of your house.

"The Third, concerning the policy and right management of the country.

"As concerning the service of God neglected by our sins, and carelessness in setting forth his glory, it should be redressed and amended by humble repentance, and amendment of life, and good example first in your own person, upon whose carriage every man's eye is fixed, as the head to rule the rest of the members, with religion, justice, prudence, temperance and fortitude.

"Chiefly by Religion and Justice have all Commonwealths been ruled; so that such countries as wanted the knowledge of the true Religion, seeing the great works that God brought to pass by his own peculiar people observing his Religion, they invented Religions. Thus thinking to imitate the Jews, they fell into idolatry and superstition; yet they straitly observed their said invented Religions, and caused to punish with death such as despised or spoke against the same. Far more should your Majesty be careful to advance the true Religion, and to see the same reverenced and observed. And for that effect should devout and discreet ministers be chosen, whose Christian lives may preach as well as their doctrine: and such ought to be provided with sufficient local stipends, neither too much, to entice them to avarice; nor too little, to make them indigent, and give them ground in their preachings to cry out of poverty; in such sort as they may have no occasion yearly to leave their flocks, to come and make suit for their living, with great pain and expenses, as they do presently.

"Divers are the causes of the disorders in your court and house-officers, and servants: for they are not chosen for their qualities, but at the instance of this and that friend, or courtier. Then the number of all sorts of servants are not limited, by placing about your Majesty so many as are needful, but an extraordinary number; whereas two in every office are enough. And then your prudence will be best known, when you shall be seen to make good elections of fit persons for every occupation: for the prince is ever esteemed to be like unto those sort of servants he likes best to be about him. Much consists in this, to have in Court discreet, modest courtiers, such as are not covetous, nor unmeasurably ambitious. Nothing wins more the hearts of the people to the prince: for so long as they see about him such persons, they are out of fear of being unmeasurably burdened. When they see men who are not greedy, nor prodigal spenders of the prince's estate, nor their own, nor stirrers up of the prince to take men's lives for their lands; they are in hope that every man may live upon his own, and the prince also upon his proper patrimony. Therefore should the officers of the exchequer be true and honest men; and the prince should be frequently present himself, and hear his own compts: for few dare control, or find fault with the wrong compts of his officers, or great courtiers. Which I have oft-times found fault with, when upon the exchequer, though afterward to my great prejudice.

"The causes why the patrimony of the crown is so diminished, is because your Majesty's predecessors disposed much to the Church, for devotion; and to the noblemen and Barons, for good service. And when princes were careless to prevent rebellions, occasioned by their misgovernment, they were compelled to buy the assistance of some, by disposition of lands, to help to suppress their unnatural subjects. Which incon-

venience their careful and provident government might have prevented and eschewed.

" Your Majesty also, out of your noble and princely disposition, disposed liberally unto divers greedy and importunate persons, during your minority, divers lands and rents, which would have stood in great stead to the entertainment of your house. And you heaped gift upon gift to a sort of greedy cravers, and that by the persuasions of such as had your ear, and not to those who deserved best at your hands. Now the officers of the chequer being well chosen, as said is, the rent-masters, and their officers who are accountable, must be responsible men; neither too mean, nor too great men, or courtiers, but such as dare be controlled, and whom people will not fear to offend. All vacant benefices and casualties should be retained in your own hands, till you see what you may spare.

" Then the best part of the property lies in the Highlands, where neither God nor the King is served or obeyed. Your rents may be redoubled, if the Highlands and the Islands were reduced, as was done by your grandfather King James V. For the Kings of Scotland were never rich, since they left the Highlands and the Isles to dwell in the Lowlands: for since that, their rents have been diminished, and their superfluous expenses increased, at the unruly example of other neighbour nations.

" Then your Majesty's parks would be put to profit, and replenished; which will be found a necessary help to the keeping of your house. The rest of your store-grounds, lying in the far south parts, are in such hands as it is not fit to meddle with them yet; but some yearly number of wedders will be easily granted by them who possess presently the said store-grounds.

" Also the forbidden goods that go yearly out of Scotland, if they were stayed and taken according to acts of Parliament, would be very profitable.

"The best means to bring these good purposes to pass, is a princely, prudent and gracious government: which is easiest brought to pass, when the prince corrects himself, before he corrects his subjects; for they will be soon subdued to his will, when they see the same made subject unto reason: for being subject unto reason, the prince hath conquered himself, the readiest means to conquer the hearts of all his subjects; their hearts being conquered, the country is easily conquered; the country being conquered, the prince may plant and establish good order there at his pleasure.

"Theopompus being demanded, what way a King might best rule his realm? answered, in giving liberty to those who love to tell him the truth.

"The Senate of Rome, writing unto Trajan, excuseth princes to be negligent in many things, not so much for that they have not desire to foresee, as because few or none dare warn them of the truth; and says moreover, that it belongs to good princes rather to have regard to the benefit of their country, than to the delights of their person; and rather to follow such exercises as will increase their reputation, than only to be taken up with their pastime; that they should be sparing in speeches, and prodigal in deeds.

"Plutarch saith to the same Trajan: If thy government answer not the expectation of thy people, thou must necessarily be subject to many dangers. He said further, that princes should rule well, if they be thankful to the great God, and if they should be patient in chances of fortune, and diligent in execution, careful of their affairs in dangers, mild to the people, tractable to strangers, not covetous of riches, nor lovers of their own opinions and desires; for then the burden of their office will be easy unto them. As God is the ruler and spirit of the world; so ought princes to rule and be the spirit of their country. The heaven,

the earth, the sea and all the elements obey God's ordinance by the strength of his continual motion and providence; so should the prince who is God's place-holder, by continual care, providence, and motion, cause every lieutenant, minister, magistrate, judge, officer, and sheriffs to keep their due course in their vocation. For the which effect, it may please your Majesty to consider the nature, and wrong kind of Scottish government, by a continual long corrupted custom.

"Scotland is indeed hereditary, and a monarchy; yet among all other monarchical kingdoms, it is oftest out of tune, by the sloth and carelessness of princes, the unruliness and sturdiness of the subjects, and the great number of the nobility: as also by reason of the great cumbersome clans, so ready to concur together, and to rebel for the defence of any of their name, or to revenge the just execution of some of them for murder, slaughter, theft, or such other crimes. For our King, wanting hired soldiers remaining in garrisons, as other monarchs have, may not at all occasions punish and redress such wrongs and disorders; except they have by wisdom and virtue conquered their own passions, opinions and desires, and by the same means ravished the hearts of the most and best part of the subjects, to assist them with heart and hand to suppress the rebels, and to punish the offenders. Such Kings again as endeavour to command absolutely, not caring for the hearts of their subjects; their proclamation may well be outwardly obeyed with their bodies, but they will never help the prince in time of need, save only to help to ruin him. There is nothing more dangerous for a Scots King that hath not the love of his subjects, than when a great number are convened together; for at such times they use to take sudden consultations to put order to the prince, and his familiar minions. Of these two sort of Kings, the

first is more than a monarch; and the last less than elective. Of the first, in Scotland too few have reigned; and of the last too many: which is the cause that the country is not conquered to the lawful Kings. Which is also the cause that the corrupt customs and disorders have lasted so long, and are not to be remedied, until it please God to send three such Kings as I have named of the best sort, granting them long life, each one to succeed after other. I pray God grant that your Majesty be the first of the three. But it appears your Majesty is not well advised, while you are creating more noblemen, making them thereby the stronger; whereas divers other princes endeavoured to make them lower and fewer: by reason of the old emulation which hath lasted between the Kings of Scotland and their nobility, the Kings to command absolutely as sovereign monarchs; the nobles to withstand their absolute power, sometimes by secret and indirect means, and oft-times by plain resistance and force. Hence but few wise, virtuous and potent Kings, or sovereign monarchs who have obtained the mastery; whereas there have many careless, slothful and simple princes, that have ruled by wicked counsellors, and have commonly been brought to ignominious ends. The good and worthy prince took upon him more or less absolute power and authority, as he found himself able by assistance, substance, and alliance; or as he found his nobility feeble, foolish, and divided.

"England believes itself to be in the better estate, by shedding the blood of their nobility, and debarring them from the Council, and handling of the prince's affairs; Scotland contrariwise, by sparing the blood of the nobility and Barons, and by making them partakers of honours and offices. For the way of taking the life of a nobleman or Baron, breeds an hundred enemies more or less, according to the great-

ness of the clan or surname; of which some will lie at wait to be revenged, albeit long after, as they can find their opportunity. For the nobility being so numerous, by long evil custom they esteem themselves to be born counsellors; and yet will not remain at Court, nor upon the Council, unless it be at conventions, or for some particular profit. And if the prince intend to rule without them, they use to make sudden enterprises against him and his familiars, with the which tragedies the chronicles are filled. Then after such a violent alteration, they find themselves odious to the prince, so that they commonly seek to be masters over him from that time forth, lest he should, when he sees a fit time, take his revenge for their contempt.

"It is not best then to debar your nobility from being upon your Council, but grant place to a number of the wisest of them, whereof they will soon be weary, and retire when their purses begin to grow empty. Thus they will want occasion to grudge or rebel.

"It is meet also to gain by good deeds part of the worthiest of your nobility; which may be a means to keep the rest from rebellion, when they see so many of their number daily about you, and in your favour.

"Princes are by Homer called Pastors; by the Romans, Fathers of the country. None can be answerable to such honourable names, without extreme diligence, and fatherly care to see every officer about his duty, and strait account taken how they discharge the same, rewarding well-doers, and punishing offenders; reward and punishment being the pillars whereupon the commonwealth stands. Especially take care the first year of your marriage; for the reputation obtained the first year will last long afterward, whether it be good or evil.

"Be earnest and liberal to get good intelligence, as well of your neighbour's estate as your own; of the

grievances of your subjects, and their partialities and feuds; which will open your eyes to see sundry outgates in matters of state.

" Give familiar access to your nobility and Barons, when they come; chiefly to all such who are written for to your conventions. Give open audience, once every week at least, to rich and poor, receiving their supplications and complaints, with strict command to the Council and master of requests to give them answer with sudden dispatch.

" Cause to reform the superfluity of clothing and banqueting, as well by your example as commandment.

" Now supposing your Majesty to be ripe fruit, and no more green, I hope your dear bought experience hath made you apt enough to receive all profitable impressions presented to your Majesty by your faithful proved servants, and not to commit so easily the weighty charge of your affairs to any one, or two, or three; seeing the same may have been clearly observed to tend highly to the prejudice of such, who have been, through flattery or otherwise, induced to follow such courses. Such minions have been always observed to shoot at their own marks, not valuing the endangering of the estate of the prince, so that they gain their own ends, by enriching themselves and their dependers.

" No man will think strange, that, during your younger years, you have been pressed and persuaded to lay the burden of your affairs off yourself upon others, who greedily courted that weighty charge above their capacity, wanting care, knowledge and ability to bear it. But now every man will marvel, if you should commit such a gross error in your perfect age; thinking that your pregnant ingeny, excellent memory, and hurtful experience, may compel you to exercise the office of a King in your own person. For whence hath proceeded so many attempts, so many enter-

prises, so many times the taking of your Majesty's person, so many alterations and changes of court-servants, counsellors and laws, but by committing the charge and keeping of your sheep, and subjects, to certain ambitious and ravenous wolves, who chose to bring into Court, for their assistance, such as they knew to be of their own qualities, that they might conquer together, first how to put out of your favour, and debar from your ear, all such honest true persons as would oppose their pernicious proceedings, that so your Majesty might neither see nor understand, but by their eyes and ears? Your Majesty can well enough remember, how oft for my part I have forewarned you of the storms which were to fall out, through the misbehaviour of such insolent, such inconstant, such scornful and such partial persons, as have oftest possessed your ear, and carried the vogue in your Court. And what I thereby gained to myself, your Majesty knows. Yet, however disadvantageous to my own particular interest was that manner of procedure, I had this comfort, that your Majesty confessed that I had shown you the verity: but the said confession was ay behind the time, with over late repentance.

" Here your Majesty may reproach me of inconstant councils; because, one year after your returning from Denmark, I told you that your subjects were not satisfied of their expectations, nor of your public promises; praying your Majesty yet to begin, and either be at that pains which is requisite to a right governing King, or else to submit the whole burden of your affairs to such a number as I should name, only for one year. In doing of any of these two, I engaged that you should find your estate sufficiently settled at the year's end. Then it pleased your Majesty to demand of me, the manner that I would wish you to rule after? Whereunto I made answer, that it did not become me, or any in Scotland to show you the

duty of a King, which you could declare better than any of your Council, seeing you could exercise the said office as well as any King in Europe, if you were pleased only for one year to take the pains to do it yourself. In so doing, I supposed that before the end of it, there should ensue such profitable effects, as you should find the government pleasant, and no more painful; by the which means your Majesty should eschew the reproach of the poet, in one of his sayings in French,

Je hay, dit il, entre les hommes ceux
Qui sont espris d'un vouloir paresseux,
Et tousiours semblent s'on s'y fye
Practiquer l'art de la philosophie.

Italian.

Chi non fa quel che deve, quel ch'aspetta non receve.

Spanish.

Si fueras regido par razon a muchas regiras.

"In four things a prince soonest wrecks himself: To be careless and slothful in his affairs; To forsake the counsel of his true servants; To give ear unto unthankful flatterers; and, To spend above his rents.

"To return again to the purpose: It pleased your Majesty to require for the second part, viz., What might best settle your estate within the year? I said, To devolve the management for a year upon such as I should name, joined to the best inclined of your own Council. To that your Majesty once agreed; but when I came more to particulars, your Majesty judged it not your interest, as having been otherwise advised. Then I requested your Majesty to exercise the office yourself.

"Yet not long after, your Majesty submitted your-

self wholly and entirely to eight persons, called Octavians; and told me that you had followed my opinion therein, and had submitted simpliciter for your time to these eight persons. I replied, that I spoke but for one year; and that I would have named some of the said number, but not all. They were wise men, learned and politic; but the unmeeter that they were choosers of themselves. Yet they began to do better than any had done before them; but they continued not, but divided among themselves, after they had divided the offices of the crown, to every man one: whereas at the first, they had given forth that they should plant mean responsible men in the said offices, and they all too but comptrollers of the said officers. So that many began to grudge against them, seeing them become in a sudden rich. And perceiving their great backs, the whole subjects, and his Majesty's own domestics to follow and depend upon them, and his Majesty to pass through the streets with three or four, as forsaken; because none hoped any more for reward at his hands, but so much as might be had for serving and depending upon the said eight Lords; they became also hated and envied, partly for the causes specified; as also there was great ground of jealousy, that they were intending the establishment of Popery. So that there was a rebellion raised in Edinburgh against them, in his Majesty's presence; upon which they fled out of the town, and since durst never take upon them the whole government, but were content to be joined with a number of noblemen and others of the Council, to the number of twenty-four. But the greatest part of the noblemen did not attend, but came when they were written for to the conventions, as formerly they used. So all this new device turned to the old *sicut antea*."

You have heard how that his Majesty was advised,

at his returning from Denmark, to imprison such as were given up to have been most unruly during his absence. But being returned, even some of those who had advised the said warding were the first who gave advertisement to those who were to be warded, not without some profit for their reward, to the great discontentment of some of their associates: which loosed the bond which was made at Denmark by the Chancellor and his faction, and caused every one of that number to go sundry, and to do for themselves. So that all their plots and devices turned to change some of the session: but there was no concurrence, and so it stopped of itself.

The officers of the Exchequer continued a while to be the only Council; and the nobility, when they came, were kept at the door. I having at that time the honour to be one of the Exchequer, took the freedom to acquaint his Majesty, that the nobility would be offended at such usage, which was so manifest a slight. I said it would be no prejudice to cause them come in, they being great men, as my Lord Hamilton, my Lord Maxwel, and others of principal note. But his Majesty of his own nature was not changeable from the order laid down by them he liked, and reposed upon. Yet, of my own accord, I went forth of the chamber, and told the noblemen, that his Majesty was upon the ordering of his accompts and rents, and the daily expenses of his house; that he was ashamed they should see the estate thereof, which was the cause they were suffered to stand without. This little excuse was somewhat satisfactory to them. But that order was also soon altered.

Concerning the reducing of the Highlands and Isles; three of the principals, as Maclean, Macdonnel and Donald Gorm, were subtly drawn to the Court by the Chancellor, who understood of the differences among them; every one of them being by him put in

hope to get his hand above his enemy. But at their coming, they were all three warded in the Castle of Edinburgh, to their great astonishment: for they had each of them committed such foul murders under trust, that it was horrible to rehearse. Being therefore apprehensive of their lives, they dealt largely of their ill-won gold to those who had most credit. Nevertheless, to terrify them the more, to draw more from them, they were put to an assize, and convicted of treason: which caused them to redouble their gifts to the guiders, but not to the King; in such sort that there was an agreement betwixt his Majesty and them, that they should give pledges that they should pay yearly unto his Majesty 20,000 merks for the lands, of the property whereof they had no security; of the which they had of yearly rent, as was given into the Exchequer, 250,000 merks. This was all given them for 20,000 merks. And whereas before they had no right nor security, but a forcible possession, they obtained sure enfeoffments by charter, seisin, and the great seal, and a remission of their foul crimes. But shortly after, their pledges, who were kept in the Castle of Blackness, for giving a small sum were released; and so the 20,000 merks was lost and never paid.

Here was a good prince ill used, and abused; and the half of the rents robbed from him; his God offended by sparing to do justice upon such bloody tyrants, who acknowledge neither God nor the King.

I had advised his Majesty to go himself to the Isles to build a fort there, and to remain two years till all things were ordered; showing his Majesty that the Kings of Scotland were never rich, since they left the Highlands to dwell in the Lowlands; but have ever since diminished their rents, and increased their superfluous expenses in diet and clothing, following the customs of other nations. Which his Majesty, after inquiry, found to be most true; and his Majesty was

resolved to follow the said advice, and I had promised to go with him: but all was altered by the former misrule. Matters thus carried on, many began to lose hope of amendment; or to see the reformation promised and expected, lamenting to see a good King so ill-counselled.

Yet this time his Majesty sent for me; and at my coming to Falkland, where the Court remained for the summer season, it pleased his Majesty to tell me, how that, at his coming out of Denmark, he had promised to the Queen and Council there, to place about the Queen's Majesty, his bedfellow, good and discreet company; which he had left too long undone: that at length, having advised with himself, he thought me the fittest man to commit that charge to; desiring me not to refuse the just calling of my prince, wherein I might serve as in a lawful vocation; because such as ordinarily suit for service at Court, or for any office, do it for their own profit; but they are more profitable for princes that are sought after, and are chosen for their qualities. I know, says he, that you would gladly live at home in your own house, with contentment of mind, which you think is not to be had in the troublesome alterations in Court; but you know that a man is not born for himself only, but also for the weal of his prince and country. And whereas your continual on-waiting will be chargeable and expensive to you, and hindersome to your own affairs at home, I shall ordain sufficient entertainment for your present relief; and recompense for this and your former faithful service.

I answered, that, as his Majesty's most humble servant and subject, I never refused to obey his commandment, however prejudicial to my own interest the same should have appeared to me, and contrary to my natural inclinations: that I should resolve, in that his Majesty's desire, to satisfy his expectations.

Then it pleased him to tell me, that none of his Council or chamber were privy to this his design of giving me that charge, but only one man; and that the Queen notwithstanding had got notice thereof, and supposed that I was to be put there, to inform her rightly of the estate of the country, and concerning her behaviour to his Majesty, and to every nobleman and lady, conform to their ranks and conditions, and to be her keeper.

His Majesty the next day took occasion, openly at the table, to show unto the Queen, how that she and all her nation were obliged to me, for the continual good report I had made of them, and the goodwill I carried toward the whole nation: and also how I had travelled many countries, and had so great experience, that both he and she might learn of me several things for their advantage, and for the weal and standing of their estate; and that the Queen his mother found herself much relieved by my conversation, and service of importance, as well here at home, as when I was employed by her abroad. Thus far his Majesty said above my deservings, to recommend me to her Majesty, to oblige her to like me the better. Notwithstanding whereof, the Queen did show me no great countenance, but took coldly with me, when after dinner it pleased his Majesty to present me unto her, to be her Highness's Counsellor, and Gentleman of her Chamber. Some days afterward her Majesty asked me, if I was set to be her keeper? I answered, that her Majesty was known to be descended of so noble and princely parents and so well brought up, that she needed no keeper; albeit her dignity required to be honourably served with men and women, both young and old, in sundry occupations. She replied, that I had been ill-used; showing me, that at first, when she was yet ignorant of every man's qualities, some indiscreet enviers endeavoured to give her a bad character of

me. I answered, That I was put in her service to instruct such indiscreet persons, and also to give them good example, how to behave themselves dutifully and reverently unto her Majesty, to hold them aback, and that way to keep her from their rashness and importunity. At length her Majesty appeared to be well satisfied with my service, in which I spent some years, keeping sometimes the council days, and sometime waiting upon the Exchequer, when their Majesties were together; but when they were asunder, I waited only upon the Queen.

About this time many witches were taken in Lothian, who deposed concerning some design of the Earl of Bothwell's against his Majesty's person. Which coming to the said Earl's ears, he entered in ward within the Castle of Edinburgh, desiring to be tried; alleging that the devil, who was a liar from the beginning, ought not to be credited, nor yet the witches his sworn servants. Especially a renowned midwife called Amy Simson[1] affirmed, that she, in company with nine other witches, being convened in the night beside Prestonpans, the Devil their master being present, standing in the midst of them, a body of wax, shapen and made by the said Amy Simson, wrapped within a linen cloth, was first delivered to the devil; who, after he had pronounced his verdict, delivered the said picture to Amy Simson, and she to her next neighbour, and so every one round about, saying, 'This is King James VI ordered to be consumed at the instance of a nobleman, Francis Earl Bothwell.' Afterward again at their meeting by night in the kirk of North-Berwick, where the Devil, clad in a black gown, with a black hat upon his head, preached unto a great number of them out of the pulpit, having like light candles round about him.

The effect of his language was to know what hurt they had done; how many they had gained to their

[1] Or Samson.

opinion since the last meeting; what success the melting of the picture had, and such other vain things. And because an old silly poor ploughman, called Gray Meilt, chanced to say, that nothing ailed the King yet, God be thanked; the Devil gave him a great blow. Thus divers among them entered in reasoning, marvelling that all their devilry could do no harm to the King, as it had done to divers others. The Devil answered, 'Il est un homme de Dieu, Certainly he is a man of God,' and does no wrong wittingly, but he is inclined to all godliness, justice and virtue; therefore God hath preserved him in midst of many dangers. Now after that the Devil had ended his admonitions, he came down out of the pulpit, and caused all the company come kiss his arse: which they said was cold like ice; his body hard like iron, as they thought who handled him; his face was terrible; his nose like the beak of an eagle; great burning eyes; his hands and his legs were hoary, with claws upon his hands and feet like the griffin; he spoke with a low voice.

The tricks and tragedies he played then among so many men and women in this country will hardly get credit by posterity: the history whereof, with their whole depositions, was written by Mr James Carmichael, Minister of Haddington. Among other things, some of them did show, that there was a westland man called Richard Graham, who had a familiar spirit, the which Richard they said could both do and tell many things, chiefly against the Earl of Bothwell. Whereupon the said Richard Graham was apprehended, and brought to Edinburgh; and, being examined before his Majesty, I being present, he granted that he had a familiar spirit, which showed him sundry things; but he denied that he was a witch, or had any frequentation with them. But when it was answered again, how that Amy Simson had declared, that he

caused the Earl of Bothwell address him to her; he granted that to be true and that the Earl of Bothwell had knowledge of him by Effe Machalloun and Barbary Napier, Edinburgh women. Whereupon he was sent for by the Earl Bothwell, who required his help to cause the King's Majesty his master to like well of him. And to that effect he gave the said Earl some drug or herb, willing him at some convenient time to touch therewith his Majesty's face. Which being done by the said Earl ineffectually, he dealt again with the said Richard to get his Majesty wrecked, as Richard alleged; who said, he could not do such things himself; but that a notable midwife who was a witch, called Amy Simson, could bring any such purpose to pass. Thus far the said Richard Graham affirmed divers times before the Council; nevertheless he was burnt, with the said Simson, and many other witches. This Richard alleged, that it was certain what is reported of the fairies; and that spirits may take a form, and be seen, though not felt.

The Earl of Bothwell, as I said, was entered to ward within the Castle of Edinburgh, his Majesty not willing to credit his devilish accusers; but the Council thought fit, that for a while he should pass his time in other countries, and so to be set free upon some articles and conditions. But some of those, who were appointed to deal with him, endeavoured to make advantage of him to be his friends. Others, who were desirous to have the state troubled, made him false advertisements, as if his life had been in danger. Which caused him resolve to save himself over the Castle-wall, and retired himself to Caithness: whence he was shortly after sent for by such as were malcontents, and others who were desirous to fish in troubled waters, alleging they had made him friends enough in Court, and that there was a fair enterprise devised, to take the King, and kill the Chancellor.

Upon which information, he was easily persuaded to come and make himself head of that enterprise.

He therefore, not long after, accompanied with James Douglas, sometime Laird of Spot, the Laird of Niddry, Mr John Colvil and some others, entered into the King's palace, late about supper-time, by the passage of an old stable, not without secret intelligence of some about his Majesty. So soon as they were all within the close of the palace, they cried, 'Justice, Justice; a Bothwell, a Bothwell'; and had been masters of the whole, were it not that James Douglas of Spot, after that he had taken the keys from the porters, entered within the porter's lodge, to relieve some of his servants, who were kept there in prison, and had been examined upon suspicion of the slaughter of his good-father, the old Laird of Spot; where he met with some resistance from the porters, the noise whereof did rise sooner than was the intention of the enterprisers. Which alarmed his Majesty, the Chancellor and others, to shut and fortify their chamber-doors, and to make resistance till some relief came from the Canongate, conducted by my brother Sir Andrew Melville of Garvock, master of his Majesty's household, who knew a secret passage through the abbey church, and entered by the same in armour. Whereof the Earl of Bothwell and his company being advertised, they stole quietly through the galleries unto the part where they entered the palace, and fled, without any great harm, as God would have it. In his out-going he chanced to meet with John Shaw, Master stabler to his Majesty, whom he slew, together with his brother, being in a rage that the enterprise had failed. But divers of his company were apprehended by my said brother, and by others; who were all executed the next day.

Their manner of proceeding was: first, the Laird of Spot with a company took the keys, and made them-

selves masters of the gates of the Palace. Another company was directed to the Chancellor, who was sitting at his supper, and my brother Sir Robert with him: and they had been taken, had it not been for the Laird of Spot's earnestness to relieve his servants; the bruit whereof caused the Chancellor to flee out of his hall to his chamber, and shut the door after him: so that my said brother got no entry, but retired himself to another void house; whither none pursued him, neither was he in any fear for himself.

The Earl of Bothwell, accompanied with Mr John Colvil and others, addressed themselves unto the Queen's chamber-door, where he supposed the King would be found. But the door was defended well by Harry Lindsay of Kilfauns, master of her household. In the meantime, his Majesty was conveyed up to that tower above the said chamber, after the door of her Majesty's chamber had been broken with hammers in divers parts, and that Mr John Colvil had caused bring fire to burn it. The door of the Chancellor's chamber was manfully defended by himself. He caused his men to shoot out of the windows continually, and through doors; where Robert Scot, brother to the Laird of Balweary, was shot through the thigh. The Chancellor took courage when he heard my brother's voice; and then the enterprisers fled, as said is.

At their first entry within the palace, I was sitting at supper with my Lord Duke of Lenox, who incontinently took his sword, and pressed forth; but he had no company, and the place already was full of enemies. We were compelled to fortify the doors and stairs, with tables, forms and stools, and be spectators of that strange hurly-burly for the space of an hour, beholding with torchlight forth of the Duke's gallery their reeling, their rumbling with halberts, the clacking of their culverins and pistols, the dunting of mells and hammers, and their crying for justice. Now there

was a passage betwixt the Chancellor's chamber and my Lord Duke's by a stair; and during this fray, the Chancellor came up the said stair, and desired entry into my Lord Duke's chamber. My Lord Duke, by my advice, desired him to cause his men debate at the nether-door so long as they might, and offered to receive himself within the chamber. Which the Chancellor took in an evil part, and suspected my Lord Duke; and so returned back again to his own chamber, and debated the best he could, as said is. So soon as my Lord Duke saw a company of friends within the close, he went forth to pursue the Earl of Bothwell and his company; but the night was dark, and they took them speedily to their horses, and escaped.

They being retired, we got entry to her Majesty's chamber, whither the King was for the time come down. Where his Majesty discoursed with me a good space, concerning this terrible attempt, and of his many hard misfortunes. Where I left not to tell his Majesty some of the special causes of the said enterprises, and how that many of them might have been prevented by a prudent and careful government, as may be sufficiently marked and considered by the many admonitions and former advertisements made unto his Majesty before all the accidents that chanced unto him, and also in this. For two days before this enterprise, my brother Sir Robert and I had got intelligence, that some such design was shortly to be put in execution by the Earl of Bothwell and his accomplices, against his Majesty and the guiders of Court. Whereof his Majesty made no account, though thereof advertised; but was the next day going to hunting: which coming to my brother's ears, he rose out of his bed in his shirt, only in his night-gown; and came forth to the outer-close of the Abbey, and took his Majesty's horse by the bridle (for he was already upon horseback) using many persuasions to

have stayed him, though all in vain: for we were in doubt whether the enterprise would be executed in the fields, or in the Palace.

After this attempt, his Majesty went up to the town of Edinburgh for his greater security; where there were divers new enterprises made, whereof my brother Sir Robert getting frequent advertisements, sometimes to keep his lodging such a night, sometimes to be well accomplished such a night, as being one who had done pleasures to many, and was not hated; nor would never have been in danger, so that he could but save himself from the first fury of the attempters.

This hath been the hard estate of this good King, occasioned by his laying the burden of his affairs upon a few hated and envied for their ambition, covetousness, and partialities, who so soon as they had attained so weighty a charge, took only care how to make themselves soon rich, most commonly by the wreck of others: so blindly transported by ambition and greediness, that they neglected both King and commonwealth; satisfying the King with fair language, though displeasing the country with foul deeds; caring only how to discredit and bear down so many honest men, as they knew would discover their misbehaviour, or who would oppose them in their pernicious designs, which I may justly testify for my part.

Not long after this, a new enterprise was made, to make a great alteration in Court, by some courtiers among themselves. When as the Master of Glammis was treasurer, Sir George Hume Master of the Wardrobe, my Lord of Spiny Gentleman of the Chamber, and young Logie,[1] also Sir John Maitland, Lord Thirlstane, Chancellor; Sir Robert my brother treasurer-depute had the principal handling of the office, by debursing and receiving; the Provost of Lincludin Collector, and [David] Seaton of Parbroth Comptroller, Sir

[1] Wemyss of Logie.

Richard Cockburn of Clarkington Secretary, and I was one of the Privy Council, and Gentleman of her Majesty's Chamber. My Lord Duke of Lenox, my Lord Hume, and my Lord of Mar were drawn upon this course, to reform the abuses at Court, as was alleged. There was no good liking between the Master of Glammis and my Lord of Spiny, chiefly for the feud between the houses of Crawford and Glammis. At that time my Lord Spiny was in great favour with his Majesty, and sometime his bedfellow; and upon that account he was envied. And besides the foresaid feud, he was accused to have been a dealer with the Earl of Bothwell, and upon that was for a time decourted. Young Logie was also thought to have had much dealing with the said Earl, and was accused, taken and warded for the same. But he escaped out of a window in Dalkeith, by the help of a Danish gentlewoman, whom he afterward married.

There was great hatred betwixt my Lord Duke and the Chancellor: for after the late enterprise in the abbey, the Chancellor caused close up the passage with stone and lime that was betwixt their lodgings, whereby he gave the Duke to understand that he suspected him; which was too rashly done by the said Chancellor. For after that the new alteration was intended, and called 'the enterprise made at Dalkeith,' my Lord Duke and my Lord Hume riding from Dalkeith to Edinburgh, met the Chancellor well accompanied riding to Court, where the said Lords made a mint to set upon him to slay him; yet the matter was at that time taken up by Alexander Hume of Northberwick and my brother Sir Robert, who were in company with the Chancellor for the time. But shortly after that, the Chancellor left the Court, retiring himself to his house; and in his absence a great number of faults were charged upon him, and among the rest, how he had so long hindered the

King's marriage, whereby the Queen's Majesty was made his great enemy. The Master of Glammis also would fain have had my brother out of his office, to bruik the whole office of treasurer alone. Therefore the Laird of Carmichael, Captain of the Guard, was easily persuaded to cause a number of the guard, who stood with culverins at the gates of the house of Dalkeith, to boast to slay my said brother divers times in his passing in and out of the same house; supposing that my brother should fear his life and leave the Court, as the Chancellor had done. But my brother made no account of their boasts; for he knew the Duke was his friend, and that he had but few enemies: therefore he frequented the Court more frequently than formerly, but came always well accompanied; for they could get nothing to lay to his charge, but said to his Majesty, that he was too lavish in his office to be a treasurer, over easy in his compositions, and over gentle to such as were denounced to the horn.

The Queen's Majesty, according to her custom, whenever she understands that his Majesty by wrong information is stirred up against any honest servant or subject, she incontinently intercedes for them, and useth great diligence to get sure knowledge of the verity, that she may the boldlier speak in their favour. Therefore so soon as her Majesty understood that they were dealing against Sir Robert my brother, it pleased her to speak far in his favour, declaring how, that at her first landing in this country, his Majesty had presented him to her, praising him as one who had been a true and faithful servant to the Queen-Regent his grandmother, to the Queen his mother, and to himself; willing her to look upon him as such, and to follow his advice. Also many of the Lords took my brother's part in such sort, as he still kept the Court and his office.

When this alteration was made, I was absent, and

at my coming again to Court, his Majesty told me of the Chancellor's fearful retreat, and that he was in no danger in his company. I answered again, that the Prince's presence should be a safeguard, albeit it was not always so in Scotland. It appeared that his Majesty was somewhat altered upon the Chancellor, my Lord Spiny, and my brother. For as the Master of Glammis would have had his office, so others misliked him, because he haunted the Chancellor's company, and was looked upon as his great friend, who was generally hated: so that his Majesty was moved to think and say, that he was not meet for his office. I being present, answered, that it grieved me to the heart, to hear and see so good a prince always environed with bad company, causing him so oft without reason, or offence to cast off his most faithful servants; and that it would be seen, let men serve never so well, if they were misrepresented by such as had his ear, it availed nothing. To this his Majesty replied, that he knew my brother to be a true servant, but too gentle, liberal, and easy in his compositions. He declared that he would never alter upon him nor me; so that he continued constant against the intentions of those who were about him.

Here it may be seen how necessary it is to have good friends about the prince, and how hurtful and dangerous it is for a courtier when such as have the Prince's ear are his enemies. For in that case, whatsoever his good service hath been, he is in hazard of being couped and wrecked.

About this time the Earl of Arran, who had been absent ever since the Road of Stirling, came to Court and spoke with his Majesty, and pretended to have obtained again his office of Chancellor. His Majesty had still some favour for him, and would have been content of his company; but others held him back, and shortly after that, he was surprised and slain by James Douglas

of Parkhead, in revenge of the death of the Earl of Morton his uncle. Little diligence was made to revenge the same, many thinking [it] strange that he was permitted so long to live, in respect of his arrogant and insolent behaviour, when he had the Court at his will.

Now the Chancellor who was decourted at the alteration made in Dalkeith, did what he could to procure his Majesty's favour; which at last he obtained, and was again introduced. But at first, the Queen would not see him; yet at length by the moyen of Sir Robert Ker of Cesford, who had married his brother's daughter, his peace was also made with her Majesty.

About this time there did arise great strife and disorders in the country, between the Earls of Huntly and Murray; between the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland; between my Lords Hamilton and Angus: for divers of them made suits, and obtained commission, with ample privileges over other lands, as well as over their own; which engendered many discords: whereof I advertised his Majesty, that order might be taken therewith. Whereupon the Council being convened, they ordered letters to be directed in his Majesty's name, charging them all to desist from hostility, and to compear before the Privy Council at prefixed days. First the Earls of Murray and Huntly compeared, there being a gentleman of the name of Gordon killed with a shot out of the house of Tarnua,[1] by the Earl of Murray. Both the parties being come strong to Court, were commanded to keep their lodgings, for preventing of trouble before their compearing.

When his Majesty was advised by the Chancellor what to do in reference to that matter, then his Majesty proposed the same to the Council; to wit, three points, either present agreement to be made, or warding both the Earls, or caution to be taken of both; then to send home the one, and hold the other still at Court

[1] Darnaway.

for a while. His Majesty, following forth this proposition, declared first, that the parties could not be agreed, because of the hot blood of the Laird of Cluny, Gordon's brother lately slain. Concerning warding he alleged, that the Castle of Edinburgh had enough of prisoners already; that the Abbey was not a fit prison for noblemen: so that it would be fittest to take caution of them both, and to hold them sundry, to send home the one, and retain the other at Court for a season. The Chancellor was of that opinion, and sundry others who used to depend upon such who had the chief handling. Then his Majesty commanded me to tell my opinion, which was different from this. I advised present agreement, supposing that the Earl of Huntly, for his Majesty's pleasure, and in obedience to his command, would not refuse to compound the matter by a present uptaking, seeing he was come so great a journey with his lady and whole household, to remain all winter at Edinburgh. At this the Chancellor took me up tauntingly, saying, that the Earl of Huntly would tarry at Court all that day till to-morrow, and would part no sooner; for he had promised to the said Earl that advantage over his enemy, albeit I knew the Earl's intention was to tarry all winter at Court. The Justice-clerk was of my judgment; but said, that it appeared his Majesty with the Chancellor had already concluded to send Huntly home, and keep the other at Court. So soon as Huntly went home wanting his competitor, he triumphed and took sundry advantages upon the Earl of Murray's land, giving the Earl just occasion of complaint: and getting no redress, he retired himself from the Court, and became so malcontent, that he took plain part with the Earl of Bothwell, who was still upon his enterprises.

The Earl of Huntly being advertised that his adversary was an outlaw with the Earl of Bothwell, he returned again to Court, to get yet some advantage

upon him. But in the meantime, the Lord Ochiltree endeavoured to agree them by consent of his Majesty. He drew the Earl of Murray to Donnibrisle to be near hand, that conditions and articles might be added and pared at the pleasure of their friends. The Earl of Huntly being also made privy to his coming to Donnibrisle, obtained incontinently a commission (appearing therein to do his Majesty acceptable service) to pursue by fire and sword the Earl of Bothwell, and all his partakers. Little knew his Majesty, that under this general, he was minded to assail the Earl of Murray at his own house, to kill him, as he did to the regret of many. But the Lord Ochiltree took such a despite, that his friend was so slain under communing, as he alleged, that he took plain part with the Earl of Bothwell, and so did divers others, in revenge of his quarrel, encouraging the said Earl to assail his Majesty within his palace of Falkland, having divers in Court familiar enough with his Majesty upon the said conspiracy with him, whose counsel his Majesty followed most. So that they drew him into a net to abide still in Falkland, notwithstanding the many sure advertisements that had been made unto him. Such hath been his Majesty's hard fortune in many such straits.

The few number who were faithful to, and careful of his Majesty, counselled him after the first advertisement, to pass to Coupar, and convene, with all possible diligence, the Barons of Fife for his defence. But such as sought his wreck, persuaded him to tarry and delay, alleging that they had sure advertisement, that the Earl of Lothian would not come out of Lothian till such a day; which would have been two days longer, and behind the day which he kept; for he came to Falkland two days sooner. This advice was given, that his Majesty might be surprised before he could either enter within the tower of Falkland, or be provided with any forces to defend him. And because

they knew my brother and me to be careful for him, they advised his Majesty to send us home to our houses, that same night that we understood the Earl of Bothwell would be there, and had so told his Majesty; but he believed his abusers better. We gave his Majesty counsel to ride quietly to Bambrich, and there he might, when he pleased, take a boat and go over to Angus, where he would have leisure to convene the towns of Perth and Dundee, and the country thereabouts. But this advice was also overthrown by those who were upon the contrary part.

Thus we being commanded by his Majesty to ride home, and to warn the country in case they were besieged within the tower, we obeyed. My brother that same night, by the way, was advertised by one of the Earl of Bothwell's company, that he was already in Fife, and would be in Falkland against supper-time. Upon which advertisement he sent his gentleman, called Robert Auchinleck, to acquaint his Majesty therewith, and to request him to enter within the tower in due time. When the said Robert declared the matter unto his Majesty, they all laughed him to scorn, calling him a fool. The said Robert returning malcontent to be so mocked, met the Earl of Bothwell and his company upon the height of the Lomonds, when it was already dark night, and turned incontinently, as if he had been one of their company. He used great diligence to be first at his Majesty. Entering within the palace of Falkland, he closed the gates himself, and cried continually to cause his Majesty enter within the tower; who at length believed him, and mocked him no more.

The Earl of Bothwell at his coming had petards to break up gates and doors. It was not without ground alleged, that some of those who shot out of the tower for his Majesty's defence, charged their culverins with paper. But some of his Majesty's household officers

shot out bullets, which gave the Earl and his company a great scare; as also the King's being within the tower before he was surprised. And supposing that the country would gather together, the said Earl and his company retired and fled, none pursuing them: whereas a few might easily have overtaken, and overthrown them. That same night I lay in my boots upon my bed, expecting word from Falkland, where there was one left to be ready for that effect. At whose back-coming, I with other friends and neighbours did ride to convene the country about Coupar, to have rescued his Majesty. But the King immediately sent me advertisement, that the Earl was fled; yet he desired me to bring these forward whom he knew I would convene for his relief; as they did to the number of 3000 that afternoon. Thus God miraculously delivered his Majesty, as He had done divers times before.

About this time came to his Majesty an honest gentleman from Ireland, called [ ] who made offers of consequence to his Majesty. Whereof the Queen of England was incontinently advertised, and desired to require the said gentleman to be delivered to her: which the most part of the Council counselled his Majesty to do. But the Justice-clerk, my brother, and I, were of a contrary opinion. Which deed did great harm to the settlement of his Majesty's affairs in England and Ireland. This I speak with great regret, because it was so far against his Majesty's own mind; and yet he suffered it to be done, because the chief ringleaders advised it, who have been always won to the devotion of England.

Now the Prince being born at Stirling the [19] day of [February], in the year [1593-4] his Majesty thought fit to send Ambassadors to England, Denmark, France and Flanders, to require their Ambassadors to be sent to the baptism of the Prince his first-born son. The

Council were commanded to nominate such as were meetest to be sent on that message; as they did. Yet some obtained that commission who were very unmeet for that errand; as Sir William Keith: for he could neither speak Latin, French nor Flemings. The Laird of Easter-Weems procured to carry the commission to France, and also to England, because he was to go thither about his own affairs, being the King of France's servant. But Mr Peter Young sped best, who was sent to Denmark, and to the Dukes of Meckleburg and Brunswick; for he got three fair chains. But the King of France nor the Queen of England gave nothing; which they would have been engaged to do, if Ambassadors had been sent to them express. Neither sent the King any Ambassadors here at that time. The Queen of England was once resolved to have done the same, till she was advertised by her own Ambassador in France, that the King was resolved to send none. Then very late she sent the Earl of Sussex, to let us see that she would ever be a ready friend, when France would refuse and lie back. On the other part, the Dukes of Meckleburg and Brunswick were discontent that they were so far slighted, as not each of them to be thought worthy of an express. A special day was appointed for solemnising the said baptism. The Ambassadors of Denmark and Dutchland arrived almost together. His Majesty had sent for me to be there at their coming, to receive them and to entertain them. But the Ambassadors of Meckleburg and Brunswick would not ride out of Leith in company with the Danish Ambassador, when they were convoyed up to Edinburgh, but desired a convoy apart.

A few days after them arrived the Ambassadors of the Estates of the Low Countries, to wit, Monsieur de Broderode and Monsieur Fulke Great Treasurer of Holland and Zeland, who landed at Newhaven: where

I was well accompanied to receive them, having horse and footmantles in readiness to carry them up to Edinburgh to their lodgings.

A little before the landing of the said Ambassadors, the day of the baptism was delayed, because there was neither word of an Ambassador from France or England, and the King's chapel in the Castle of Stirling, which was cast down to be built again in a better form, was not yet completed: so that the Ambassadors were ordered to remain in Edinburgh till all might be put in good order. Therefore his Majesty appointed the Master of his Household, and my Lord Tungland my brother, together with me, to entertain them upon his charges, and also to bear them company. After that they had tarried longer in Edinburgh (there being no appearance of any Ambassadors from France or England) we were commanded with some others of the Council to convoy them to Stirling; where his Majesty made his excuse that they were so long delayed at Edinburgh. But they alleged, they had great contentment in our company. Which his Majesty forgot not to declare before the whole Council, giving me thanks, alleging that I had done him good offices, and this among the rest, which he would never forget; and that he had three other of my brothers, all fit for such matters, and for foreign affairs.

Now being in doubt of the English Ambassadors, the ceremony was to be solemnised without longer delay. In the meantime, there came word that the Earl of Sussex was upon his journey toward Scotland, for the Queen his mistress, on whom the action stayed. The day of the solemnity, there was great business for their honours and feats. That being agreed, there was an empty chair set before the rest for the King of France's Ambassador. The order of the banquet and triumph I leave to others to set out.

When the Ambassadors had audience of the Queen's

Majesty, I was appointed to stand a little behind, and next unto her Majesty. To the English, Danish and Dutch Ambassadors, her Majesty made answer herself. But though she could speak seemingly French, yet she sounded in my ear, to declare her answer to the Ambassador of the States of Holland. Then every one of them, by order, gave their presents. The jewels of precious stones the Queen received in her own hand, and then delivered them unto me, to put them again in their cases, and lay them upon a table which was prepared in the midst of the chamber to set them upon. The Queen of England's had a great show, being a fair cupboard of silver overgilt, cunningly wrought, and some cups of massy gold. The Ambassador of the States presented a golden box, wherein was written in parchment, in letters of gold, 'A gift of a yearly pension to the prince of five thousand [guilders] by year,' with great cups of massy gold, two especially, which were so weighty, that it was all that I could lift them, and set them down upon the said table. I leave it to others to set down the weight and value. But I say, these which were of gold, which should have been kept in store to posterity, were soon melted and disposed: but if they had been preserved, as they ought to have been, those who advised to break them would have wanted their part.

All these Ambassadors being dispatched and well rewarded, those of Denmark were advised, by John Lindsey[1] of Monmuir, to cause with all diligence send new Ambassadors, to require the contract of marriage made in Denmark to be fulfilled; alleging that the Chancellor, who had made it, had left out the rents of the Abbey of Dunfermling fraudfully, and had taken in fee to himself all the Lordship of Musselburgh. For this end two Ambassadors were sent from Denmark; upon whom I was appointed to attend to see them well

[1] Lindsay of Menmuir.

entertained. As they were well instructed, so they happened upon a meet time; for the Chancellor was for the time decourted, and my brother was Ambassador for his Majesty in England. So the Chancellor was caused to renounce his part. And because my brother Sir Robert was absent, young Sir Robert his son, and I, obliged us that his part, which was thirteen chalders of victual, should be also renounced at his return; which was accordingly done. His Majesty promised to him as much heritage in another part, in respect that his gift was obtained long before the contract of marriage. Divers others, who had portions of these lands, were likewise compelled to renounce, either voluntarily, or by a new law made for that effect.

Notes

Pp. 19-20. Cardinal Bethune (Beton or Beaton)

It is strange that Sir James Melville should have been so ignorant about the Cardinal's private life.

His chief lady was Mariota Ogilvy of Airlie (whom he is said to have carried off, and to whom, as Abbot of Arbroath, he granted in 1528 for certain sums of money "and other causes" the lands of Burnton of Ethie and later of Melgund, 1542). He had many children by her, including four sons, of whom were David Beaton of Melgund, and Master Alexander, Archdeacon of Lothian, as well as Margaret, wife of David, Earl of Crawford, and Mary, wife, first of Ouchterlony of Kellie, and secondly of Gordon of Gight. She remained with the Cardinal until his death, and her initials "M.O." exist (as if she had been his wife) with his, on some of his Castles. Be this as it may, she died as "Lady Melgund," the widow of one William Douglas, in 1575.

The murderers of the Cardinal were all men of Fife—his relatives or connections—as the Florentine phrase has it, *Cugini-assassini*.

P. 20. Henry Balnaves of Halhill

He was one of the Reformed Party in Scotland and was probably a great guide in the religion of his heir Sir James Melville. He became a Reformer in Cologne. Appointed a Lord of Session by King James V, he obtained also (in 1539) Halhill near Collessie in Fife. His wife was Christian Scheves. He helped to obtain the Act of Parliament which permitted the reading of Scripture in the "vulgar toung." Imprisoned in Blackness by Cardinal Beaton, he was freed by the Fleet of Henry VIII, and although not an instigator of the murder of the Cardinal he joined Norman Leslie in the Castle of St Andrews, and was later sent to the galleys. Much of his later career can be followed in the "Memoirs." He died *circa* 1579. A branch of his family held the lands of Carbaddo.

P. 21. The Constable de Montmorency

Anne de Montmorency, Duc de Montmorency, and Constable of France, served under five kings of France and eventually met his death from wounds received at the siege of St Denis in 1567. He was succeeded in the dukedom by his eldest son, François, Marshal of France, who died in 1579 and was succeeded in his turn by his younger brother, Henri, who had hitherto been known as Baron de Damville. Henri was a passionate admirer of Mary Queen of Scots, then the wife of King François II. It is said that he would have married her when she became a widow had not the match been successfully opposed by her relatives the Guises, hereditary enemies of the house of Montmorency. Having thrown in his lot with the Protestant party headed by Henri

of Navarre, afterwards Henri IV, he was rewarded with the sword of Constable, being the sixth Montmorency to hold that office. He was married three times. His daughters by his first marriage married the Dukes of Angoulême and Ventadour. His children by his second wife, Louise de Budos, were Charlotte, wife of Henri, Prince de Condé, and Henri, afterwards Duc de Montmorency et Damville, who, in 1632, was executed for his complicity in the rebellion of Gaston, Duc d'Orléans, against Louis XIII.

The Constable Anne had other sons including Gabriel, Baron de Montbéron, killed at the Battle of Dreux 1562, and Charles, first known as Seigneur de Méru, then, on his brother Henri's succession to the dukedom, as Baron de Damville. He was created Duc de Damville in 1610 and died two years later, when his duchy descended by special remainder to his nephew Henri, who also succeeded him in the post of Admiral of France.

P. 23. The Patriarch of Ireland—A Scotsman born, called Wauchop

Robert Wauchope, most likely a son of Gilbert Wauchope of Niddrie in Midlothian. He was a Doctor of the Sorbonne in Paris, and Archbishop of Armagh. He did not obtain possession of his See, but attended the Sessions of the Council of Trent from 1546-47, and signed as "Primate of Ireland." He introduced the Jesuits into Ireland, was almost blind, but a fine rider. He died in Paris in November 1551, admired by all for his "wit, judgment, and experience." His works were: *De Legitimo Concilii Tridentini Consensu, Lib. I; Ejusdem Concilii Acta, Lib. I; De Auctoritate Pape, Lib. I: Collecta Canonum, Lib. I.*

(Information from Mrs Wauchope of Niddrie and Miss Dowden.)

P. 61. Sir Henry Killigrew

Sir Henry Killigrew (died 1603), a Cornishman and the first of a family who flourished in late Tudor and early Stuart times. He went as envoy from Queen Elizabeth to Mary Queen of Scots in June 1566. He was with her later after the murder of Darnley, when he delivered a special message "in a dark chamber." He induced Queen Elizabeth to send a special force to Edinburgh to reduce the Castle, so he had some power. He died in 1602-3.

P. 78. Lord Robert Dudley

All people did not admire "Lord Robert" as much as did Queen Elizabeth, as this Epitaph shows:—

On Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester

Here lieth the worthy warrior
Who never blooded sword;
Here lieth the noble councillor,
Who never held his word;
Here lieth his excellency,
Who ruled all the state.
Here lieth the Earl of Leicester
Whom all the world did hate.
1588

P. 83. David Riccio

It is difficult now not to think that David Riccio was much better born than was believed in Scotland. He seems to have been of a noble family in Piedmont, that of Riccio di Solbrito. They were rich, so his pose of musician and poverty may have been a rôle, and his real status known to the Queen; but although most likely he was a Papal Agent, and certainly arranged the Darnley marriage, he was not openly avowed by the Vatican.

Pp. 95-96. From the Copy of the MS. in the Author's original Scots printed by the Bannatyne Club, p. 123

" At dyuers metingis ther wald be dyuers purposes; and the Quen my souerane had instructed me somtymes to leau matters of grauite, and cast in some purposes of mirrines, or elis I wald be tyred upon, as being weill informed of hir sisters naturell. Therfore in declaring the customes of Dutchland, Polle and Italy, the busking and clothing of the dames and women was not forget, and what contrey weid was best setten for gentilwemen to wair. The Quen of England said sche had of dyuers sortis; quhilkis euery day sa lang as I was ther sche chengit; ane day the Englisch weid, ane the Frenche, and ane the Ytalien, and sa of others; asking at me quhilk of them set her best. I said the Italien weid; quhilk plesit her weill, for sche delyted to schaw her golden coloured hair, wairing a kell and bonet as they do in Italy. Hir hair was reder than zellow, curlit, apparantly of nature. Then sche entrit to dicern what coulour of hair was reputed best; and inquired whether the Quenis or hirs was best, and quhilk of them twa was fairest. I said, the fairnes of them baith was not ther worst faltes. But sche was ernest with me to declaire quhilk of them I thocht fairest; I said, sche was the fairest Quen in England, and ours the fairest Quen in Scotland. Yet sche was ernest. I said they wer baith the farest ladyes of ther courtes, and that the Quen of England was whytter, bot our Quen was very lusome, Sche inquyred quhilk of them was of hyest stature. I said, our Quen. Then sche said, the Quen was ouer heych, and that hirself was noither ouer hich nor ouer laich. Then sche askit what kynd of exercyses sche used. I said that [quhen] I was dispatchit out of Scotland, that the Quen was bot new com bak from the hyland hunting; and when sche had leaser fra the affaires of her contre, sche red upon gud bukis, the histories of dyuers contrees, and somtymes wald play upon lut and virgineles. Sche sperit gene sche plaid weill. I said, raisonably for a Quen."

P. 236. The Earl of Arran

" Arran getting this grand design wrought and Morton out of the way, concluds it easy for him to do anything else; so that his next contrivance was in his intrigues with the Lady March, Elizabeth Stuart, to procur her a divorce from her husband, as frigid, that so he might enjoy her to himself, the course of law is followed to the full in every point, divorce obtained before the judges competent, att Holyroodhouse, and in earnest Arran obtaines Elizabeth Stuart for his wife, and was married next morrow." (*Wardlaw* MS., pp. 178-82.)

It is strange that this nullity suit was followed in the Reign of James VI and I (but in England) by that of Lady Essex, later the wife of the favourite Somerset.

P. 282. Laird of Comte and Robert Shives

The Scheaves (or Shives) were lairds of Kemback in Fife, and a daughter of the family was wife of Mr Henry Balneaves.

P. 303. Mr John Maitland

John Maitland, brother to the Secretary, William Maitland of Lethington, was born *circa* 1545. He was Prior of Coldingham with a seat in Parliament, and was "Yeonomuss," or Treasurer, to the Abbey of Haddington. He was made Lord Thirlestane in 1590, and died in 1595.

P. 317. Archibald Douglas

A cousin of the Regent Morton and a son of Whittinghame, Archibald Douglas was both a cleric in the Reformed Church and a Lord of Session. It is curious that his career has not been more studied, for he was in every plot, the Riccio murder, the Darnley murder, and a spy for Queen Elizabeth in England. After returning to Scotland as her representative he was favourably received by King James VI and sent back to England as Ambassador. His power was great in spite, or because, of his having married Bothwell's sister Lady Jean Hepburn, and that he was stepfather of the firebrand Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell. The latter, as we see in the "Memoirs," took refuge in Caithness, his mother being the widow of the Master of Caithness.

P. 354. Effe Machalloun

The position of Euphemia Macalzean, who was burnt as a witch, is very remarkable. Most witches were humble folk, but she was the only child and heiress of the Judge, Lord Cliftonhall, and was styled "Lady Cliftonhall." She married Patrick Moscrop, and in spite of her sad end, one of her daughters married Mr David Ogilvy of Pitmuis, son of Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, while another was wife of Henry Sinclair of Whytekirk.

P. 359. Young Logie

The heroic Danish maid-of-honour who freed "Young Logie"—as one chronicler says "by the sutletie of Love"—at Dalkeith, and eventually became his wife, is known as "May Margaret" in ballad of "Young Logie," but is styled variously Margaret Vinstar, Twynlace, or Twynstoun.

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